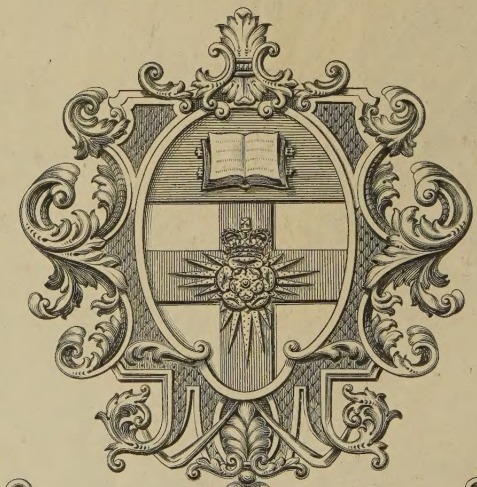

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Professor C. H. FIRTH, LL.D., F.B.A., *President*

Delivered February 19, 1914

LAST May, I had the honour of reading a paper before the Society on the subject of the development of the study of seventeenth-century history in the past: to-day, I wish to say something about the development of the study in the future. I am not going to prophesy: not even to try my skill in what politicians term 'intelligent anticipation of the future.' My aim is a much humbler one: I mean to make a brief survey of the field of seventeenth-century history, and point out some of the things which in my opinion need doing, in order to complete our knowledge of the subject.

The idea of making such a survey was suggested to me by two reports I have lately been reading. One was the report of a commission of historians appointed by the Dutch Government, published in 1904; the other, the report of a committee of American historians, published in 1908. Each is a survey of the documentary materials already published for the study of the national history; but while the American report confines itself mainly to governmental publications, the Dutch is more comprehensive and more

detailed. Neither report, however, confines itself to cataloguing what has been done in the past : each attempts to point out what should be done in the future. The Dutch committee described their report as a survey of the gaps in the knowledge of Dutch history which ought to be filled by the publication of fresh sources ; the American committee was expressly instructed to frame a preliminary plan which would serve to guide the Government in its future documentary publications.

It would be an excellent thing if English historians would attempt some similar survey, and draw up some general report of the same kind. The task would be a difficult one : it would require the co-operation of experts in many different subjects and many different periods ; but I believe it could be done, and I am convinced that if it were done it would further the progress of historical studies in this country. It would also serve the purpose of indicating to young historical students the particular parts of English history where our present knowledge was defective and where their industry could be most usefully employed.

In the meantime, I think I shall be contributing to the execution of this plan by briefly surveying the field of seventeenth-century history and pointing out some of the things which need doing. It is not easy to arrange what I have to say very methodically, and you must bear with me if my observations seem rather disjointed, and my survey is rather incomplete.

Take first the Crown. Remember the extent to which in the seventeenth century both foreign and domestic policy was determined by the personal action of the Sovereign ; and remember how difficult it is to estimate exactly the nature and the extent of that action, and how necessary it is to form an accurate conception of each Sovereign's character. For that purpose the letters of each ruler are an indispensable basis ; but those letters are dispersed in all sorts of books and collections of manuscripts. The only ruler whose letters have been collected is Cromwell,

thanks partly to Carlyle and partly to a lady who is one of our members—Mrs. Lomas. To bring together the scattered letters of James I, Charles I, Charles II, and James II from the different volumes in which they have been printed, and unearth those which have not been printed, would not be an excessively difficult task; and while such collections would be indispensable to scholars, they would not be without interest for the general reader.

There is one particular set of royal letters which ought to have been edited and published long ago—that is, the letters of William III to the Duke of Portland. Macaulay quoted largely from them, and other historians have used them; but they have never been published in their integrity, and extracts are not satisfactory or sufficient. William's letters to the Grand Pensionary Heinsius (1689–1702) have recently been published, as the third series of the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, in three volumes, edited by Dr. F. J. L. Krämer; and his letters to the Prince of Waldeck were edited and published by P. L. Muller in 1873–80. The letters to Portland are necessary to complete the series, and they are easily accessible. The originals are in the possession of the Duke of Portland, and transcripts of them made for Sir James Mackintosh are in the British Museum.

In the seventeenth century the monarchy was not a remote abstraction. The personal influence of the King was largely exercised by direct contact with the governing classes of his subjects. Noblemen and gentlemen, ministers and officials met together at the Court. It was not merely a social centre: it was the seat of the Government—at all events when the century began, though its importance in that respect was much diminished by the end of the century. Hence the history of the royal household and the Court, of which it was the nucleus, would repay investigation. We have good histories of the royal residences—Windsor, Whitehall, St. James's, and Hampton Court—but their authors are mainly concerned with the fabrics and their furniture. We have also books entitled the Court and

Times of such and such a Sovereign, but their authors are mainly concerned with entertainments and scandal. An exact account of the organisation of the King's household at any particular period, of the regulations by which it was governed, of the great and small officers connected with it, during the reigns of the Stuarts, has not been written; and a full and scientific treatment of the subject would be very valuable. The chapters on the Household and Court of Queen Elizabeth, in Professor E. P. Cheyney's history of the last years of her reign, furnish an example of the method in which this subject should be treated.

From the Crown, I turn to the Parliament. We have as a basis the journals of the two Houses printed in the eighteenth century; and to these there has been added lately the calendar of the papers of the House of Lords published partly by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, partly by the House of Lords itself. But the two compilations which bear the title of the 'Parliamentary History of England,' the old history in twenty-four volumes, published between 1751 and 1762, and the better known work edited by Cobbett and Wright, published at the beginning of the nineteenth century, are both hopelessly obsolete. They do not contain an adequate history of a single one of the Parliaments which met during the seventeenth century. They supply an account of the debates, which is not without value, because it brings together and reprints some accounts published earlier and some speeches published separately by their authors; but since then, manuscripts have been discovered giving much better accounts of debates already known or reporting debates previously unrecorded. Some of these have been printed. Our Society printed the debates of the House of Commons for 1610 and 1625, and those of the House of Lords for 1621 and 1624 to 1626. Many other reports still remain in manuscript. American scholars have already set to work on the subject with their usual energy. The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has

undertaken to prepare a work entitled 'Proceedings and Debates of Parliament respecting North America, 1585–1783.' 'Far from contenting ourselves,' says Dr. Jameson, 'with the texts present in Cobbett or in the "Old Parliamentary History," we must endeavour, pursuing the soundest modern critical methods as applied to historical sources, to make up the best version of each debate and each speech which can be prepared by the use of all existing material, printed or unprinted.' This has involved the preliminary labour of making a list of all the printed and manuscript reports of debates in the two Houses during the period named, which Dr. Jameson is carrying out with his usual thoroughness. When it is finished, this list will be of the greatest value to English scholars, and would serve as the basis for a new and a better parliamentary history of England on the same system.

Another American scholar is devoting his time to the Parliament of 1628–9, and obtaining copies of all the different printed and manuscript accounts of it for comparison and publication. The larger subject of the history of the debates of the Long Parliament I trust some English scholar will undertake. There are several diaries which are still unpublished, and there are incidental notices of particular debates which ought to be collected. Though a new parliamentary history of the seventeenth century is so large an undertaking that it would probably need governmental aid for its achievement, there are some contributions to it which might be made by private enterprise. Certain reports of debates might be edited. For instance, the report of the debates in the Convention Parliament in 1660, partly printed in the old 'Parliamentary History,' might be printed in full and properly edited.[1] Moreover, there are certain periods for which there are no reports available, either in print or, so far as we know, in manuscript. Such are the period from 1661

[1] The MS. is in the possession of Mr. Alfred Salwey. See the report of the Historical Manuscripts Committee on his papers. Tenth Report, App. IV, p. 409.

to 1667 and the last few years of the reign of William III. Any student who would collect and print the incidental notices of the debates of these years—which are to be found in letters, diaries, and similar sources—would make a very useful contribution to historical knowledge.

From the Parliament, I pass to the Council. The historians of the seventeenth century hardly give the Council its proper place in their story: it is thrust into the background by the Parliament, and it has been insufficiently studied. This neglect has been recently somewhat repaired; but much remains to be done to bring out its share in determining the policy of the Government and conducting the administration of the country. The first thing to be done is to print the registers of the Privy Council, which have now been transferred to the Public Record Office down to 1760. That task, I am glad to say, will soon be taken in hand. Unhappily, the records are in some respects defective. In 1619, the registers for the period from 1600 to 1613 were destroyed by a fire at Whitehall, and in 1698 most of the miscellaneous papers of the Council perished in the same way. But many papers relating to the Privy Councils have been preserved in private or public collections: something could be done to fill the gaps, and still more might be done to supplement the dry and formal entries in the registers. For instance, there are records of the proceedings of some of the Committees. Williamson's notes of the proceedings of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Privy Council from 1668 to 1678 have been nearly all transcribed, and will, I hope, shortly be published by this Society. I have also in my possession a transcript of the Register of the Committee of Intelligence from 1679 to 1682, which I hope this Society will print too.

Out of the committees of the Privy Council, or out of the commissions in which the powers of the great officers of State were vested from time to time, sprang the departments by which the administration of the country is now conducted. Many of those departments originated

in the seventeenth century, and their growth and organisation ought to be investigated. Two of the greatest—the Treasury and the Admiralty—took shape during the seventeenth century. In Dr. W. A. Shaw's admirable introductions to the Calendar of the Treasury Books, we have an excellent history of the development of that department and of its work for the period from 1660 to 1678; it is to be hoped that he will be able to bring it down to the close of the century, but there are serious gaps in the sources. Besides this, the financial organisation and administration of the period before 1660 requires fuller and more detailed treatment than the general historians of the period have been able to give it. There are tolerably complete records for the period from 1635 to 1641 and the time when Laud and Juxon administered the finances.[1] As to the period from 1641 to 1660—the changes made in the financial organisation, the great sums raised in taxes, and the new ways in which the revenue was raised—make it a subject of great difficulty but also one which much needs elucidation and would amply repay a student.[2]

Just as the Treasury Board represents the old Lord Treasurer, so does the Admiralty represent the Lord High Admiral. Naval history is a comparatively new study; but thanks to the impetus given to it by the foundation of the Navy Record Society, and, above all, by the inspiring energy of Sir John Laughton, it has made rapid progress lately. Yet much remains to be done for the naval history of the seventeenth century. The history of the administration has been worked out by Mr. Oppenheim and Dr. Tanner, but no one has yet attempted to complete their work by an account of the administration of the Navy during the reign of William III, though the materials for the subject are ample; for there are not only the manuscript

[1] See W. H. Black's *Report on the Old Records and Documents of the Treasury*, 1845, pp. 9, 38.

[2] The recent publication of the collected Acts and Ordinances passed between 1642 and 1660 facilitates this task.

Admiralty Records, but there is also much information of great value in the published papers of the House of Lords.

If we turn from the history of administration to the history of naval operations there is still more to be done. The part played by the Navy in the Civil War has never been adequately treated; we need a fuller and more detailed history of the Dutch Wars—especially of the second and third of them. The fullest account of the naval operations during the war with France from 1689 to 1697 is still Burchett's book, written two centuries ago; though it has been supplemented by Mr. Julian Corbett and others, it has not yet been replaced.

Further, it appears to me that the history of the mercantile marine has been too much neglected. Without some account of the sea-borne trade of England and its development and organisation the history of the Navy and its work must be largely unintelligible. Mr. Marsden has shown us the value of the records of the Admiralty Court for the history of English commerce; the records of the Customs, especially the long neglected and undervalued port-books, are another source of information.

The military history of England during the seventeenth century is at present much less actively studied than the naval history: perhaps because there is no military history society, and because Mr. Fortescue has been less successful in finding disciples and imitators than Sir John Laughton. During the first portion of the century, we had no standing army, and forces were hastily raised for an emergency and hastily disbanded. Adventurous Englishmen took service under foreign flags, sometimes singly, sometimes in regiments. While there is a collection of documents about Scottish regiments in the Dutch service, and a history of the Irish brigade in the French service, the exploits of the English officers and soldiers who took service on the Continent have been somewhat neglected. There are lives of Sir Francis Vere and Sir Edward Cecil, but no English writer has investigated the Dutch archives for documents

about the English regiments which served there during this period, or tried to put together an account of those fighting for other foreign governments.

Passing to the period of the Interregnum, I think there are a number of small points in the history of the Civil War and the armies employed in it which require elucidation. A subject which would well repay a detailed study is the history of the English forces employed in Ireland between 1641 and 1654. As the war ended with the establishment of many of the officers as landowners in Ireland, a book on the Army would be a contribution to family history and social history of very considerable interest. The materials for the purpose are ample.

With the Restoration, the history of the British Standing Army commences. We have Clifford Walton's book, which is in the main an account of the administration of the army from 1660 to 1702; we have Dalton's army lists and commission registers, and Mr. Fortescue's account of the campaigns. But there are in the Public Record Office and outside it a number of military papers which have not yet been utilised by historians. A history of the Ordnance Office seems to me very much needed. That office links together the armies of the Tudors and the early Stuarts with the post-Restoration army, and, as it supplied both the Army and the Navy with equipment and stores, an account of it would be of value to naval as well as military historians.

A subject closely connected with naval and military history is the history of English foreign relations, and there is none which so much requires to be elucidated by fresh documentary publications and by special studies. As you are aware, there is no calendar of the Foreign State Papers of the seventeenth century, and not even a good catalogue of them. That is the chief impediment. The first thing necessary is the production of a good catalogue: something like the 'Inventaire Sommaire' of the records of the French Foreign Office. There is not even a list of the Ambassadors

employed by England abroad during the seventeenth century, in print. In the case of France, I have endeavoured to compile one, with the assistance of Mrs. Lomas ; in the case of other powers, such lists still remain to be made and published.[1] With regard to the treaties between England and foreign states the case is no better. Other governments have published or are publishing collections of the treaties made by them with foreign powers. Rymer's collection ends early in the seventeenth century ; Hertslet's deals with the treaties of the nineteenth (though it occasionally contains one of earlier date). Between them there are only the collections of Jenkinson and Chalmers, incomplete selections of abridged treaties, which do not give the text of the originals. If one wants the text of an English treaty during the seventeenth century, it is generally necessary to go to some foreign collection for it. The publications of the Royal Commission for the Modern History of Austria afford an example which we should imitate. It began by compiling and publishing a list of all the treaties made by the Government of Austria with other powers. The treaties are arranged in chronological order, and the list supplies a reference to the place in which the original of each treaty is to be found, and, if it has been printed, to the publications in which it is included. This is to be followed by volumes giving the text of the treaties concluded with each particular Government, with introductions narrating the negotiations which led up to the treaty. The treaties between England and Austria down to 1847 are contained in two volumes, edited by Dr. Alfred Pribram, and are in all respects a model. For students of our foreign relations in the seventeenth century, a list or calendar of treaties, on the Austrian model, seems to me the necessary

[1] Four such lists have now been published. *Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France*, 1603–1688 ; *ibid.* 1689–1763, by Mr. Wickham-Legg ; *Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and Germany*, 1689–1727 ; *Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England with the North of Europe*, 1689–1762. The last two are by Mr. J. F. Chance. All four are published at Oxford by Mr. B. H. Blackwell.

preliminary to researches on our relations with particular countries.

I do not advocate a calendar of the foreign State Papers of the seventeenth century like that which is in course of publication for the sixteenth century. A good catalogue, supplemented by the publication of volumes of selected papers dealing with particular questions or particular crises, or the diplomatic activity of some particular ambassador, would be much more useful and much cheaper.

One of the sources for the study of our relations with foreign powers is of course the dispatches of foreign ambassadors and agents employed in England; and at the same time they supply materials for the study of our domestic history. For the seventeenth century very few of these are accessible in print. A large collection of transcripts of such dispatches has been made at the expense of the Government, but as yet there is no good catalogue of them available. The difficulty of knowing what documents have been copied is increased by the fact that part of the transcripts are in the Record Office and part in the Museum. The first essential is the publication of a proper catalogue, including the contents of both repositories.

As to the publication of the documents themselves, very few have been printed in English works. There is one exception. The Venetian papers for the whole of the reign of James I have been calendared in nine volumes, and those of the reign of Charles I are now being taken in hand. I do not think it should be continued on the same scale for the latter part of the century. The information they afford on foreign affairs decreases in value as the political importance of Venice diminishes. The information they supply as to domestic affairs also decreases in value as domestic sources increase in number and in variety. For the seventeenth century—particularly for the later part of it—they are not of the same importance as they are for the sixteenth. The dispatches of the representatives of powers like France and Holland, with which we were in constant contact and

in frequent collision, would be of far greater use to historians. Above all, in publishing papers extracted from foreign archives, there should be some discrimination exercised, and some intelligence applied. These ambassadors and agents were not all equally able or equally well informed, and their letters vary very greatly in value. As Bismarck justly observed of diplomatic reports in general, 'great part of them is mere paper and ink.' On the other hand, the letters of an acute and well-informed foreign observer should be printed—not in the shape of an abstract, but by extracting all the important passages and giving them at length in the writer's own words. Ranke prints in this manner, in the appendix to the sixth volume of his 'History of England,' about 130 pages of the reports of Friedrich Bonnet to the Court of Brandenburg, from 1690 to 1695. His earlier reports, which cover the years 1685 to 1690, and those of his brother and successor, which cover the last years of William's reign, might be dealt with in the same way.

Turning from foreign history to colonial history, the prospect is much more satisfactory. This is due, however, not so much to our own efforts as to the organised and disciplined energy of American scholars. We owe, first of all, to Professor Andrews and his coadjutors a Guide to the materials for American history in British archives and libraries, which is of inestimable value to English investigators. It is an indispensable basis for all researches into the history of our seventeenth-century colonies. We have also the account of English Committees and Commissions for the Management of Trade and Plantations, and the list of the instructions issued to the governors of British colonies —both the work of Professor Andrews. Finally, we have the books of Mr. Beer on the Old Colonial System, and Mr. Dickerson on the Board of Trade and Plantations. Naturally, the chief attention of American historians has been directed to the colonies on the mainland, and it therefore appears to me that English historians should direct

their endeavours mainly to the study of the island colonies. There are many records still preserved in the West Indies, beside those now in the Public Record Office, and the existing histories of Barbados and Jamaica are out of date, while the history of some of the minor colonies remains to be written.

From the colonies, I turn to Ireland—which was in the seventeenth century regarded and treated as a colony rather than a dependent state. Thanks to Mr. Bagwell, we have a detailed history of Ireland from 1603 to 1660, but as yet no account of the later part of the century as full and as adequate. For the last years of the century, Mr. Robert Murray's 'Revolutionary Ireland' fills the gap, but the history of Ireland under Charles II is yet unwritten, though Mr. Bagwell has undertaken the task of writing it. Much needs doing to make the documents more accessible. From 1603 to 1625 the Calendars of the Irish State Papers included all the Irish papers of the reign of James I, whether in the English Record Office, the Irish Record Office, or the great libraries. From 1625 to 1670, these calendars include only the papers relating to Ireland to be found in the English Record Office. It remains, therefore, to publish a calendar of the papers in the Irish Office for the last three-quarters of the century. I understand such a calendar exists in manuscript in the Irish Record Office, and it ought to be published. In the meantime, the enterprise of the Manchester University Press has provided us with Mr. Dunlop's two volumes on Ireland under the Commonwealth, which contain a calendar of the correspondence of the Irish Government from 1651 to 1659, so far as it exists in the Irish Record Office.

There is another manuscript calendar too which ought to be published. The Historical Manuscripts Commission have published a series of volumes dealing with the papers of the Marquis of Ormonde preserved at Kilkenny. The other half of the Ormonde papers is in the Bodleian Library. A bulky but not very good calendar of them was made about forty

years ago, and it ought to be revised and printed in order to complete the series issued by the Commission.

I might continue this survey for another hour, for there are many sides of British history which I have not touched. I have said nothing of religious history, and of economic history—nothing of the history of civilisation and of ideas. All these must be investigated by anyone who seeks to understand the seventeenth century, and on all of them there are documents in existence which ought to be collected and published. But I have said enough to indicate the nature of the task which I wish to see taken in hand. I want the whole field of seventeenth-century history carefully surveyed in order to see what new documentary publications are necessary to supplement existing collections of documents, and fill the gaps in the evidence at the disposal of historians. Incidentally, the inquiry would have the advantage of showing what the subjects are which students might most fruitfully investigate. Though I have spoken only of the seventeenth century, the same method of inquiry should also be adopted in the case of other periods. To ascertain and to formulate the opinion of scholars is the first step to the systematic treatment of the material for English history. At present, we are all too much inclined to press for the publication of documents concerning the particular subjects or periods in which we are interested, and do not sufficiently consider the relative importance of the different schemes. Consultation and discussion would tend to produce more agreement.

The need for more systematic treatment of the materials for English history is continually brought home to me. The mass of materials to be dealt with is enormous. The work of the Public Records Commission has shown me what a multitude of documents exist which have never been consulted, much less utilised, by any historian. If the evidence they contain is to be made available some systematic scheme for dealing with them is indispensable.

In the second place, the wide dispersion of documents relating to the history of the seventeenth century is a perennial difficulty for students. The work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission is always bringing that fact to my notice, and my private studies do the same. There is hardly a single institution existing during that century whose records are all in one custody or in one place, and the papers of the chief statesmen of the ages have been frequently divided and fallen into various hands instead of being kept together. Usually, some are in the Record Office or in some Department; others in libraries and museums; others in the possession of descendants or collectors. Take Parliament, take a great department like the Treasury or the Admiralty, take collections half private and half public like the Ormonde papers or the Clarke papers—there is always the same dispersion. The fragments of official archives and the separated portions of larger collections should be calendared or catalogued in connection with the series to which they belong in order to remedy this evil.

My plea, first and last, is for a more systematic treatment of the materials for British history; and in order to effect that, for a survey of the whole field by a committee of historical scholars representing various subjects and various periods. I do not mean a committee with power to print documents, but simply a committee charged to consider what documents should be printed. Such a committee might be appointed either by Government or by the joint action of learned societies such as our own. The committee's report should be printed in order that the opinion of historical scholars in general might be obtained upon it, and in order that it might be seriously discussed by all interested in British history. But the cost of printing it would not be great. The Dutch report I have referred to is in all respects an excellent model, and it is contained in a hundred large octavo pages. Our Society or any combination of similar societies would have no difficulty in finding the necessary money.

The difficulty in the way of carrying out the scheme is of another kind—namely, to persuade British historical scholars that the thing is worth doing and to induce them to co-operate in doing it.

For that reason I have put the scheme before you to-day and tried to show you, by examining one part of the field, the kind of survey I wish to see made and the nature of the investigations it would involve.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE 'LORDS' JOURNALS' IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By Professor A. F. POLLARD, Litt.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Read May 21, 1914.

In a brilliant chapter in the 'Cambridge Modern History' the late Professor Maitland, dealing with the circumstances of the passage of Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity through the House of Lords, remarks: 'Unfortunately, at an exciting moment there is a gap, perhaps a significant gap, in the official record, and we cease to know what lords were present in the House.'[1] This is a summary of a more detailed examination contributed by Maitland to the *English Historical Review*,[2] which reads as follows:—

'It is well known that the Journal of the House of Lords becomes suddenly silent at the most exciting moment of this momentous session. It leaps from Saturday, April 22, to Monday, May 1; in other words, it leaps over the days on which the Supremacy Bill (No. 3) and the Uniformity Bill were receiving the assent of the House of Lords. Is this due to accident or is it due to fraud? The question springs to our lips, for we have every reason to believe that the journal ought to have recorded the fact that not one lord spiritual voted for these bills, and that every prelate who was present voted against them. This fact might indeed be notorious; but notoriety is not evidence, and in the then state of constitutional doctrine the Queen's ministers may have wished to deprive their adversaries of the means of "averring by matter of record" that the first estate of the realm was no party to the religious settlement. With some slight hope that the handwriting might be more eloquent than print, I obtained permission to see the original journal. It made no disclosure. In the first place, the work is so neat and regular that it looks, not like a journal kept day

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, ii. 570.

[2] *English Historical Review*, xviii. 531; *Collected Papers*, iii. 208.

by day, but like a fair text made at the end of the session from notes that had been taken as the session proceeded. In the second place, the practice was to devote one page—or rather one side of a page—to every day, whether there was much or little to record. The session of Saturday, April 22, is described on the back of a page and ends with an adjournment to the next Tuesday; the session of Monday, May 1, is described on the front of the next page. Even if the book were unbound it would, I fear, reveal no more; for, as we apparently have to deal with a clean text made at the end of the session, any inference that we might be disposed to draw from the distribution of quires and sheets would be highly precarious, and "This may or may not have been an accident" would have to be our last word.'

There are a number of disputable implications in this passage. Neither the Queen nor her ministers would, for instance, have admitted that the lords spiritual were the first estate of the realm. Burghley defined the 'three estates' as consisting of Queen, Lords, and Commons,[1] and this definition was better grounded in legal and parliamentary phraseology than the usage, which grew up in the fifteenth century, of describing the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons as the three estates. Nor was there any constitutional ground for the assumption that the consent of the lords spiritual was necessary for any legislation whatsoever; that of Convocation had been essential for ecclesiastical legislation before the submission of the clergy in 1532, and it was perhaps natural that after that submission an attempt should be made to create the impression that the clerical right of veto had passed to the spiritual lords in Parliament; but their unanimous protests against *Provisors* and *Praemunire* in the fourteenth century had never been held to invalidate those statutes, and they had been outvoted on the bills for limiting clerical fees in 1529. The constitutional problem was not how to dispense with the assent of the spiritual lords in Parliament, but how to dispense with that of the clergy in Convocation;

[1] D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 350.

and the fact that this assent was dispensed with in 1559 is a useful comment on the recent contention that Parliament has never modified the constitution of Convocation except with its own consent. Finally, it may be doubted whether a court of law would have admitted the Journals for the purpose of an 'averment by way of record'; for only that was a record which the Crown called to mind, and the Journals were not the Rolls of Parliament, but a less official series of minutes controlled, if at all, by the House and not by the Crown, and preserved in the clerk's office at Westminster and not in 'the chappell of the Rolles in Chuncery Lane.'[1]

It is not, however, with these broad issues that I propose here to deal, but with the more technical points involved in Maitland's doubts about the straightforwardness of the Journals of the House of Lords. The question, indeed, is not without its general interest. Here at least seem to be sounder materials for an attack upon the Elizabethan settlement of religion than those provided by the Nag's Head fable of Parker's consecration; and effective use might be made in ecclesiastical controversy of the idea, cautiously propounded by Maitland, that there is a 'significant gap' in the records of its establishment. A government that suppressed evidence of constitutional opposition in the House of Lords would not stick at trifles; and the exiguous majority of three, by which in the absence of three prelates in the Tower the Uniformity Bill passed the House of Lords, might by methods of dealing with evidence still in vogue be represented as no real majority at all. An Act, under which hundreds of incumbents lost their livings and thousands were fined and imprisoned, was, we might be told, only law by deceit of an unscrupulous government. It is of some interest to inquire into the historical value of the evidence upon which the validity of the Elizabethan settlement of religion depends.

[1] *Petyt MSS.* (Inner Temple) 537, vol. i. ff. 85–6, vol. vi. f. 1.

Besides Professor Maitland another legal historian has examined the question at issue, and in the preface to his 'Constitutional History of the House of Lords' Mr. L. O. Pike advances his examination 'to illustrate the principles of original research on which the book has been written.'[1] His conclusion is that 'there is no reason to suppose that the MS. ever contained anything which has not been printed.' No doubt, in this statement 'the MS.' refers solely to vol. iv. of the MS. Journals of the Lords, preserved in the Victoria Tower,[2] with which the session of 1559 begins; for the most cursory examination of vols. i.–iii. shows that they only comprise fragments of the original Journals, and the number and extent of these defects destroy the 'significance' of Maitland's 'gap.' When gaps are as frequent as records, it is clear that the mere existence of any particular gap has no peculiar significance. Yet between January 1509–10, when the 'Lords' Journals' begin, and 1559 there are almost as many sessions without a record as with one. The Journals are missing for the sessions of 1512, 1514, and 1523; there is no Journal for six out of the seven sessions of the Reformation Parliament, and there is none for the first session of Mary's reign. Whatever may be the case for 1559, it is clear that the MSS. from which the extant volumes of 'Lords' Journals' have been made up once contained a great deal that has not been found or printed.

It can, moreover, be shown that the gaps of 1559 which Mr. Pike thinks coeval with the MS., and Maitland thought significant of the dexterity of Elizabeth's ministers, did not exist until the Queen and her advisers had long been dead. During the reign of James I Robert Bowyer, who was appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Smith (*d.* November 27, 1609) as clerk of the Parliaments[3] and held that office

[1] Preface, pp. vi.-vii.

[2] Vol. 1 deals with Henry VIII's reign, vol. 2 with Edward VI's, vol. 3 with Mary's, and vol. 4 begins Elizabeth's.

[3] The clerk of the Parliaments kept both the Rolls of Parliament and the *Lords' Journals*; he sat in the Parliament chamber (now called

until he was succeeded in turn by Henry Elsynge in 1625, employed his leisure in transcribing the 'Lords' Journals' from 1509 onwards, and his transcripts are extant among the 'Petyt MSS.' in the Inner Temple Library. In transcribing he omitted nothing of importance except the lists of attendances, and when he comes to 1559 he knows nothing of any gaps; his transcript goes on exactly the same for the three gaps, April 14–15, April 25–29, and May 2–6 inclusive, as it does for the rest of the session. Bowyer's transcript, moreover, fell into the hands of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who describes it in the preface to his 'Journals of the Parliaments of the Reign of Elizabeth.' Further, D'Ewes had himself between March 1628–9 and September 1630 a fresh transcript made by one of his clerks, not only of the 'Lords' Journals' but also of the Commons', and including the attendances as well as the other matter.[1] He frequently went down to the clerk's office at Westminster to supervise and check the transcription, and sometimes borrowed volumes of the original Journals. He compared his clerk's version with Bowyer's and with the originals, as well as with journals kept by private members during Elizabeth's later Parliaments; and he worked the whole, with many elucidations and comments of his own, into three MS. volumes, which were published in a substantial folio by his nephew Paul Bowes in 1682. Now, D'Ewes, like Bowyer, found no gaps in 1559; he is a meticulous and censorious critic of the least irregularity or defect in the work of the clerks of Parliament; and it is incredible that, had these gaps existed in 1629–30, when he examined the original journals, he should have

the House of Lords), and the official who is now responsible for the *Journals of the House of Lords* is still styled the clerk of the Parliaments. The clerk of the House of Commons was originally the second clerk of the Parliaments. Bowyer took the oaths as clerk of the Parliaments on Jan. 30, 1609–10. D'Ewes is mistaken in saying that he was clerk 'ab an. 6 Jacobi Regis' (*E.H.R.* xxviii. 532); Smith was still clerk on Nov. 9, 1609, 7 James I (*Lords' Journals*, ii. 545).

[1] D'Ewes, *Autobiography*, i. 411–36, ii. 4–53, *passim*.

failed to notice the fact. He does not rely upon Bowyer to fill up these gaps, for 'it seems here,' he remarks under April 29, 'by the Original Journal Book, that this Proviso passed *nullo dissentiente*.'[1] D'Ewes, like Bowyer, had before his eyes an 'original journal book' containing things which the student will seek in vain in the printed Journals and in the MSS. at the House of Lords from which they were printed.

How did the discrepancies between the original journal book of D'Ewes' time and the extant MS. arise? Had he a fuller record which has since been lost, or is the extant MS. identical with his original, but impaired by subsequent mutilation? A passage in Bowes's dedication of his edition of his uncle's collections to Sir Willoughby D'Ewes seems decisive. He refers to their value 'especially since the original Journal books are not now extant.' His dedication was no doubt an advertisement, and advertisers, as Dr. Johnson remarked of the authors of lapidary inscriptions, 'are not upon oath.' But Bowes was publishing largely for the benefit of members of Parliament, who in 1682 were mightily interested in precedents and records bearing upon the disputes between the two Houses; and it is hardly credible that he should have risked such a statement without foundation. The obvious inference seems to be that at some date between 1630 and 1680, possibly in 1649, the original Journals of the Lords had been lost. Professor Usher has suggested that there was a deliberate attempt to destroy the records of the Court of High Commission after its abolition by the Long Parliament;[2] and undoubtedly there was in Puritan minds an idea that an evil thing should not only be abolished, but all records of it eradicated from the minds of men, lest they should return again to their vomit. May not this have been the fate of the records of that 'useless and dangerous' institution abolished on March 19, 1649?

[1] D'Ewes, *Journals*, pp. 28–9.

[2] Usher, *The Rise and Fall of the High Commission*, pp. 38–40.

In that case the extant MS. Journals would represent a partially successful attempt made after the Restoration to recover the lost records and make up as complete a set as was possible. They might be originals, and undoubtedly the Journals for the sixteenth century are in contemporary hands, but they would not be complete, and probably they would not be official. If any Journals were deliberately destroyed, they would be the official journals; but others might well survive. There are still two versions among the Lords' MSS. of the Journal of 1541, and there are two for the last session of the Commons in James I's reign.[1] Bowyer's transcripts are a case in point; are not the extant 'Lords' Journals' of a like nature?

There are some curious features about the 'Lords' Journals' for Mary's reign which appear to support this hypothesis. The Journal for her first Parliament is, I have said, missing, but the first leaf of the Journal for each of the other sessions, except that for October 1555, contains written or pasted on it a name. That for April 1554 has 'Robert Brooke, Recordator London' pasted on it; the Journal for the Parliament of November 1554 has written on it 'S^r^ Clement Higham, prolocutor,' and immediately below there is pasted on a slip, 'Mr. Pollard, knight, Speaker.'[2] Similarly the Journals for the two sessions of January and November 1558 have pasted on their first leaves 'Gulielmus Cordell, prolocutor.' In each case the name is that of the Speaker of the House of Commons for the session recorded in the respective 'Lords' Journal,' with the exception of the double entry for November 1554. There the name written is that of the Speaker for that session, while the second name, which is pasted on, is that of the Speaker for the succeeding

[1] *Commons' Journals*, i. 670–715 and 715–798; one version is nearly double the length of the other. These two are conveniently placed in juxtaposition; but a second Journal covering the sessions 1604–7 is printed at the end of vol. i. of the *Commons' Journals* after 1628–9 (*ib.* pp. 933–1057).

[2] Sir John Pollard had also been Speaker of the Commons in Mary's first Parliament, for which no *Lords' Journal* is extant.

Parliament of October 1555, on the first leaf of the Journal for which there is no name at all. All the names are in contemporary hands, but not in that of the clerk who kept the Journals. These Journals, too, have all been folded into three like leases or other legal documents; and although they have been bound in their present volumes for two centuries, the original folds are obvious. It is clear that they were pigeon-holed or carried about in somebody's pocket; and on a leaf between the Journals for the April and November Parliaments there is the memorandum '@ ij of the cloke at the nether barre of the great window,' which probably refers to an appointment in Westminster Hall.

The full significance of all these details is not apparent, but they help us to some conclusions. The names written and pasted on the front leaves can hardly imply anything else than ownership. The Speaker of the House of Commons may have been officially supplied with a transcript of the 'Lords' Journals'; and these transcripts, folded, carried about, and used by the Speaker of the House of Commons, would not be the official Journal preserved by the clerk in the clerk's house at Westminster. There are no such names pasted on the 'Lords' Journals' for other reigns, nor have these other Journals all been folded. There is another difference between these Journals for Mary's reign and others: the adjournments are frequently omitted. Bowyer noted the fact, and commented 'seemeth to have ben omitted by the clerkes error or necligence.'[1] Possibly such details were not essential in the Speaker's copy. In any case, it would appear that for Mary's reign the only versions of the 'Lords' Journals' available when the existing MSS. were collected were those possessed by her Speakers.

Finally, I have to call attention to the disorderly condition of the Journals and the irrelevant matter which enlivens or disfigures the record of Parliamentary business. In volume i., for instance, of the existing series, which

[1] *Petyt MS.* 537, vol. vi. p. 10.

was paged after binding, the Journal for 25 Henry VIII (1534), which ends on p. 177, is followed after two blank pages by the Journal for 35 Henry VIII (1544). Then on p. 244 begins the Journal for 28 Henry VIII (1536). This is followed by the copy of a grant of liberties to Westminster Abbey ascribed to 1066, and this, after six blank pages, by a 'chronicle' of the kings of England from Ecgbert to Henry VI. Next comes a note, pasted in, about a proxy for the Abbot of Shrewsbury, then an undated list of proxies, and then the Journal for 31 Henry VIII (1539). Part of this disorder is no doubt simply due to a careless binder; but what sort of an official Journal is it that is adorned with chronicles, pedigrees, and miscellaneous notes? Either these MSS. had been private property, or the clerks took remarkable liberties with the records under their charge.

All this would seem to imply a lost series of official Journals, replaced by an incomplete and heterogeneous collection of MSS. from private sources. But this would nevertheless be a hazardous conclusion. The hypothesis of a general dissipation in 1649 must at any rate be rejected for the simple reason that the great gaps of Henry VIII's and Mary's reign already existed in Bowyer's time. The only gaps of later creation are the comparatively small, albeit important, defects in the Journal for 1559, though there is an extraordinary gap of twenty years (1581–1601) in the 'Commons' Journal,' with which we cannot deal now; but it dates from after 1630.[1] To the principal gaps in the 'Lords' Journals' Bowyer makes repeated and explicit reference; he and others had sought in vain to find the missing records. How they came to disappear is an unsolved mystery.[2] If the theory of deliberate destruction in order

[1] See D'Ewes, *Journals*, p. 359.

[2] Wolsey is accused in the letter prefixed to the MS. volume iv. of having made away with statutes and other documents, but the unfortunate cardinal cannot have been responsible for the disappearance of the Journals of the Reformation Parliament.

to eradicate the records of evil is tenable at all, the charge will lie rather against Mary's reign than against the Commonwealth. It is the Journals of the Reformation Parliament that suffered most severely, only one session being represented in the surviving series; and the suspiciously-minded may remember that the records of Thomas Cromwell's visitation of the monasteries also disappeared about the same period. But there are gaps for the orthodox part of Henry's reign, while the Journals for the heretical reign of Edward VI have been preserved complete.

Whatever may have been the cause of the disappearance of so much of the 'Lords' Journals,' it is clear that those which survive at the House of Lords are either the original Journals, or are moderately faithful contemporary transcripts; and so far as the Journal for 1559 is concerned, it is, despite Bowes' categorical assertion, the original Journal. The proof of this requires an account, which otherwise may be of interest, of the development of the clerk's method of keeping the Journals. The extant series of 'Lords' Journals' begin with Henry VIII's first Parliament, which met on January 21, 1509–10; the 'Commons' Journals' begin in 1547, and in both cases the question arises as to whether the Journals for these sessions are the earliest that were kept, or merely the earliest that have survived. With regard to the 'Commons' Journals' the point was disputed in the courts of law as early as Elizabeth's reign, counsel for one party asserting, and counsel for the other party denying, that Journals were kept before 1547.[1] No Journals could, however, be found; and while there was a clerk of the House of Commons in Henry VIII's reign[2] who kept a book in which, by 6 Hen. VIII, c. xvi., was to be entered every licence granted by

[1] Hobart's *Reports*, 1650, f. 109. Petyt, *Jus Parliamentarium*, 1739, p. 223, quotes Hobart, but infers the existence of *Commons' Journals* before 1547 from 6 Hen. VIII, c. xvi. (*Statutes of the Realm*, iii. 134).

[2] For instance, in 1544 Robert Ormeston was 'clerk of the Common House of Parliament and weigher of wool in the port of London' (*Letters and Papers*, 1544, ii. 166 [14]).

the King to members to depart before the session ended, his duties do not seem to have extended to the keeping of a journal. Indeed, so long as the Commons were petitioners merely, their petitions would be a sufficient record of their proceedings; and a study of the development of the 'Commons' Journals' between 1547 and 1603 suggests that the meagre entries which begin with Edward VI's reign, and with the removal of the Commons' House to St. Stephen's, were the real beginning of their Journals. They are aptly described on the first leaf of the first volume as 'a note of the Bills, when they were read in the Common House, in the first session'; there is no word of debate or procedure, and not even a note of the Speaker's election. There can hardly have been a more rudimentary record; here we begin *ab ovo*.

With the 'Lords' Journals' it is different. There is the same conflict of early opinion about the date at which they commence. Bowyer, Hakewill, and others tell us that they begin, like the extant MSS., in 1510[1]; but Sir Robert Cotton has a circumstantial story of earlier Journals.[2] He tells us that the Journal books for Henry VII's reign

'are lost, except so much as preserves the passages of eight days in the twelfth year of his reign: in which the king was some days present at all debates, and with his own hand, the one and thirtieth day of the Parliament, delivered in a Bill of Trade then read.'

Now, Cotton was not making the elementary mistake of confusing the Rolls of Parliament with the 'Lords' Journals.' The Roll for 12 Henry VII makes no mention of any day after the fourth, nor was it ever the custom of the clerk, in compiling the Roll, to indicate the order of Parliamentary days. But, down to 33 Henry VIII, it was the custom of the clerk, in compiling the Journal, to do as the name

[1] *Petyt MS.* 537, vol. i. ff. 85–6 *et passim*. Hakewill, *The Manner*, etc., pref. Elsynge's numerous references in his *Manner of holding Parliaments*, ed. 1768, are limited in the same way; his book was written in 1624–5.

[2] *Cottoni Posthuma*, 1672, pp. 53–4.

Journal implies, and record the proceedings day by day, counting each day from the opening of the session [1]; and Cotton's reference to 'the one and thirtieth day of the Parliament' affords strong presumption that he had before him a fragment of a genuine 'Lords' Journal' for 12 Henry VII. Moreover, the 'Lords' Journals' do not begin, in 1510, in the rudimentary and tentative fashion in which the 'Commons' Journals' begin, in 1547. The clerk is clearly following an established form of record, and his technique is not being evolved *ab ovo*.

Some of this character of finish and firmness is undoubtedly due to the fact that the clerk who kept the 'Lords' Journals' had never to begin in the sense that the clerk of the House of Commons had. For he was already the clerk of the Parliaments, and as such had been keeping Rolls for centuries; and the 'Lords' Journals' only begin at all in the sense of being evolved out of the Rolls of Parliament, just as the House of Lords was evolved out of the King's Great Council in Parliament. A good deal of the form of the Journal for 1510 is common to the Roll of 1504; gradually the Roll dwindles and the Journal swells, and as it increases it develops a specialised form of its own. It becomes more and more a Journal, less and less a Roll, as the Lords themselves become more and more a legislative 'House,' and less and less a court of law. What Cotton's reference seems to show is that the evolution of the Journal had begun before the date of the earliest extant specimen.[2]

We are, however, concerned mainly with the develop-

[1] This order including all days from the beginning of the Parliament, *e.g.* Sundays, whether there was a sitting or not. After 33 Henry VIII the day of the week, month, and regnal year is given, but not the day of the session. In James I's reign the year of the Christian era supplanted the regnal year.

[2] The Rolls, of course, continued after 1510. Considerable extracts from them, designed to fill the gaps in the *Lords' Journals*, were printed and prefixed to some copies of vol. i. of the *Lords' Journals*. The extracts cease with the first year of Mary.

ment of a fixed and common form by the Journals; for without some knowledge of this 'diplomatic' we cannot test the genuineness of any MS. purporting to be a Journal of the House. The great step in this development we owe to John Taylor, who was both clerk of the Parliaments and clerk of Convocation, 'quod raro accidit,' as he complacently remarks in his last entry in the Journals.[1] He was appointed clerk of the Parliaments on October 29, 1509, and on November 18 following a clerk in chancery, 'it being necessary for him as clerk of Parliament to have recourse to chancery records which would otherwise be denied to him.'[2] But it was not till nearly the end of his tenure of office that he entirely remodelled the 'Lords' Journals.' Hitherto, with a single exception on February 6, 1511–12,[3] no lists of peers and no attendances had been given in the Journals, and the record of proceedings had run straight on from page to page of the Journal. But with the sitting of February 18, 1514–15,[4] the fourth day of the session of that year, a new form is adopted. Each page of the Journal is divided into three columns; the first column is reserved for the names of the spiritual peers, the second for those of the temporal peers, while the record of proceedings is rigidly confined to the third column. A page and no more is always reserved for each day's proceedings; attendance is indicated by placing 'p.' against the name of each peer present; and the lists of peers' names are commonly in a different hand from the record of proceedings. It is fairly obvious that these pages containing peers' names and other details of common form were prepared beforehand, probably by some subordinate clerk; that the clerk of the Parliaments had one with him at the beginning of each day's sitting, and on it noted the 'p.'s and proceedings. After 1533 the notice of adjournment at the foot of each page is added to the common form prepared before each sitting. It was much

[1] *Lords' Journals*, i. 57a.
[2] *Letters and Papers*, i. 611, 673.
[3] *Lords' Journals*, i. 11.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 20.

later that the third column grew too narrow for the Lords' proceedings, and the clerk began to trespass on the columns reserved for attendance, and finally, as a desperate expedient, on to the back of the page; not till the reign of James I was the rule of a page a day abandoned.

This common form adopted in 1514 by John Taylor obtains throughout the extant Journals for the sixteenth century, whatever their defects and their appearance of having belonged to Speakers or private persons; and this fact is a strong argument in favour of the official character of the printed MSS., including the Journals for Mary's reign. It is not, however, conclusive. Subordinate clerks may have prepared more than one 'common form' page for each day's proceedings; and all the sixteenth-century pictures of the Parliament chamber depict two or more clerks busily and painfully trying on their knees to jot down notes, with the back of the transverse woolsack, on which the masters of Chancery sit, as their desk. It does not follow that because a version is in the common official form it was not a copy or a duplicate, with or without variations, of the record retained by the clerk of the Parliaments.

These details do, however, enable us to pronounce with some confidence an opinion as to the cause of the gaps in the Journal of 1559. It has been noted that a page, not a leaf, is reserved for each sitting; the record for one sitting appears on the obverse, and for the next on the reverse. If there is a morning and an afternoon sitting, two pages are used. Even if *nihil actum* is the result of a sitting, a page is used to record the attendance, and the third column alone is left blank. And those blanks are often quite eloquent; for it is an obvious inference from *nihil actum* that much was said, and the blanks in the Journal, when the Bills for Supremacy and Uniformity were before the House, are evidence of prolonged debates.

Now, it is clear that, with a common form which gives the record of two successive sittings on every leaf—obverse

and reverse—if the gaps are merely due to loss of leaves, there can never be the record of one sitting alone missing; there must always be two or multiples of two. And if we find that the gaps invariably consist of the records for two successive sittings, or multiples thereof, and never of the record for one, three, or five sittings, the conclusion is irresistible that the gaps are simply due to the disappearance of leaves from the original MS. And this we find to be the case for 1559.[1] The first record missing is for the sitting of April 14; the next sitting, April 15, is also missing. The next defect begins with the sitting for Tuesday, April 25. On Wednesday the 26th there were two sittings, morning and afternoon; on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday there was one each day. The record for the whole six sittings, representing three leaves, has gone. So with the third gap, which includes the sittings of Tuesday the 2nd, and Wednesday the 3rd of May, and also those for Friday and Saturday, the 5th and 6th; on Thursday the House did not sit. If it were possible to unbind the existing volumes, or to distinguish the quires—which it is not, owing to the tightness with which they are bound—it might be possible to go a step farther. It is obvious that, when one leaf disappears, the corresponding leaf in the quire gets loose and is likely to go as well; and if we could assume that the clerk, when finishing his Journal for 1559, took first a quire of four leaves and then a quire of eight leaves, the whole of the gaps for the session would be explained by the disappearance of the outer leaves of the first quire, and of the outer and inner leaves of the second. The hypothesis would not be irrational, because the prolongation of that session was totally unexpected, and when, on April 14, the clerk began his four-leaved quire,

[1] This can be verified by comparing the printed *Lords' Journals* with Bowyer's transcripts published by Miss E. Jeffries-Davis in the *English Historical Review* for July 1913. Miss Davis examined the *Lords' MSS. Journals* and the *Petyt MSS.* in the Inner Temple with me, and I have had the advantage of using her notes on both sources.

he had every reason to suppose that the eight sittings for which it provided would suffice to conclude the session. The Queen herself had expected its end before Easter,[1] and on April 10 the Commons had expressed their surprise that Cecil kept 'coming to them every day with new proposals and objections.'[2] The looseness of the leaves and their disappearance is easily understood, if, as seems to have been the case, the Journals were folded and pigeon-holed, but not bound for years.

Bowes remains a stumbling-block. What did he mean by stating in 1682 that 'the original Journal books are not now extant'? He plainly implies a comprehensive disappearance, and not merely occasional gaps. He is not referring to the Journals which have disappeared for the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary, because 'D'Ewes' Journals,' the value of which he is concerned to advertise, only deal with the Parliaments of Elizabeth; and the only gaps in the Journals for those Parliaments are the 1581–1601 gap in the Commons'[3] and the few days' gap in the Lords' for 1559. Yet it is clear that Bowyer, D'Ewes, Hakewill, and other students of the Journals regarded the volumes they consulted in the clerk's house at Westminster (and sometimes borrowed without returning) as the original Journal books, and that these were identical with the extant MSS. The defects which the meticulous D'Ewes censures are defects in the existing Journals; Bowyer's transcripts agree with them in all essentials (except that

[1] A proclamation was actually issued on March 22 assuming that Parliament had come to an end. (Steele, *Proclamations*, i. 53.)

[2] *Spanish Cal.* i. 52.

[3] Possibly Bowes was generalising from this gap. Hakewill speaks of the deplorable defects in the *Commons' Journals*. If the Commons, he says, would imitate the measures taken by the Lords, their Journals 'would not (as now they may) come to the hands of Executors or Administrators, and be removed to and fro in hazard of being lost, or corrupted and defaced, as is well known that some of them have been, and that in passages of the greatest moment, whereby the Commonwealth may receive great prejudice if it be not prevented.' (*The Manner how Statutes are enacted*, 1659, pref.)

he omits the lists of attendances); he has nothing of any importance to add except that he fills up gaps caused by the subsequent loss of six leaves from the Journal of 1559. D'Ewes' additions are more important because his clerk transcribed the 'Commons' Journals' before those for 1581–1601 had been lost, and because he had access to a number of private parliamentary diaries. But his foundation was the existing Journals, and these he thought were original.

The case looks black against Bowes, and yet it can be explained. He was not a student of the Journals like his uncle, and he may have got confused between two different classes of documents, the clerks' rough notes and the official Journal.

'The clerke of the Parliament,' Bowyer tells us, 'doth every day (sitting in the House or Court) write into his rough or scribled Booke not only the reading of Bills and other proceedings of the House, but so farr forth as he cann, whatsoever is spoken worthy observation; Howbeit into the Journall booke which is the Record he doth in discretion forbeare to enter many things spoken, though memorable, yet not necessarie nor fitt to be registered and left to posterity of record.'[1]

On November 10, 1597, Burghley, says Townshend,

'made a motion to the House that forasmuch as the Journal books, kept heretofore by the clerk of the Parliament, seemed to have some errours in them . . . so as it was doubted how the same might be of true Record, that it would please their Lordships to take order that the said Books that should from henceforth be kept by the clerk of the Parliament, may be viewed and perused every Parliament by certain Lords of the House, to be appointed for that purpose . . . and that this order might begin this present Parliament.'[2]

In a letter of 1683 prefixed to the MS. 'Lords' Journals' for 1559 the organisation of the Journals is ascribed to Sir T. Smith, who was clerk of the Parliaments from 1597

[1] *Petyt MS.* 537, vol. i., quoted in *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxviii. 533.
[2] Townshend, *Journals*, p. 83.

to 1609. Clearly he was acting on this resolution of Burghley's; but the final step was not taken until the session beginning in January 1620–1.

'Another excellent order,' writes Hakewill, 'was made by their Lordships that once every week a committee appointed for that purpose that [*sic*] should peruse and perfect the clarks notes, and that at the end of every session all the orders of that session should be ingrossed in vellam and fairly bound up, which course first began in the time when my worthy friend Master Henry Elsynge . . . was clark of that House, and hath continued ever since; whereas before that time all their Journalls (of which the most ancient are from the beginning of King Henry the Eight) are in paper, as are those of the Commons House, but more fairly written.' [1]

The 'Lords' Journals' are in fact on vellum from January 1621 onwards, and the method then adopted of establishing the 'record' out of the clerk's notes is still in force.

Now Bowes, in speaking of the 'original Journal books,' may have been thinking of the clerks' 'rough or scribled books' which Bowyer and D'Ewes used, though they have since disappeared, and the extant series begins in 1661. Or the notion of vellum may by 1682 have become so intimately associated with the idea of Journals 'which are the record,' that it was assumed that vellum had always been the rule, and that no Journal on paper could be the 'original Journal book.' The kernel of truth about the matter seems to be that for the sixteenth century there were no Journals extant which came up to late seventeenth-century criteria of what was original and official. Bowes' mistake was to assume that there ever had been such Journals in the sixteenth century, and that the criteria were the same for the two periods.

This, indeed, is the gist of our argument. We are dealing in the sixteenth century with a period in which the Journals were, if not void, defective in form. They, like the Houses whose proceedings they recorded, were still in the process

[1] Hakewill, *The Manner*, etc., 1659, pref.

of evolution; varying practice had not been crystallised into official form; and men's sense of the sanctity of parliamentary records was in its rudimentary stage. They were hardly yet regarded as the property of the State, and when zealous guardians do appear they have the greatest difficulty in preserving their documents from the pilfering of private collectors. We are dealing, as Maitland has said, 'with a problem in which one of the quantities—the coefficient of negligence, we might call it —is very much unknown.'[1] In the 'Lords' Journals' for Mary's reign there is no reference to the election, presentation, and speech of any Speaker but one; a binder binds the Journals for Henry VIII's reign in any order, and no steps are taken to remedy his blunder; Bowyer, an industrious clerk of the Parliaments, proves to his own satisfaction from his own records that Mary's second Parliament was her first[2]; clerks lend the Journals out and do not enforce their return,[3] and they disfigure their records with private notes and irrelevant matter. There were no official Journals in the sixteenth century in the sense we apply to the term to-day, because men had not yet been sufficiently impressed with the importance of Parliament and with the importance of form in its records. That sense had only been developed so far as regarded royal, administrative, judicial, and diplomatic proceedings. It was developing with regard to Parliament, and we have noted some of the steps down to 1621; but we cannot expect in the sixteenth century a uniformity not attained till the seventeenth.

This is a moral of wider application. It is excellent that the study of diplomatics should be developed, and that students should become so expert in the knowledge of official form that they can detect the suspicion of forgery

[1] *English Hist. Rev.* xviii. 572.

[2] *Petyt MS.* 537, vol. vi. pp. 1–3.

[3] D'Ewes, *Autobiogr.*, ii. 239–40. D'Ewes is always very careful to explain that he returned the Journals lent him. He seems to have been able to borrow the *Commons' Journals* but not the *Lords'*.

in the least variation. But it is no less essential to remember that every official form is a matter of gradual growth, and that there are periods in the development of every kind of record in which compliance with later technicalities proves not the genuineness but the falsity of the document. A 'Lords' Journal' for Henry VII's reign embodying the common form evolved in Henry VIII's would stand convicted of forgery; and vellum, while testifying to the authenticity of the 'record' after 1621, would prove the imposture of one for the sixteenth century. This warning is not superfluous. In the 'Statutes of the Realm' one version of a mediæval Act has sometimes been preferred to another because it adheres more closely to later legislative forms, although this very fact is proof of its later origin.

Indeed, while we may lament the errors and ignorances of sixteenth-century clerks of Parliament, we must not ignore our own sins of omission and commission; and I may conclude this paper with some remarks on the defects of the officially printed 'Journals of the House of Lords' in which we have acquiesced for a century and a half. That title stands in print at the head of the Journal for 1510; there is no authority for it in the MS. No one in 1510 called the body of men, whose doings are therein recorded, the 'House of Lords,' or their record a 'Journal.'[1] But while the printed text interpolates an unhistorical title, it omits an important historical preface. John Taylor, the clerk in 1510, before he sat down to his duties had written out for his guidance the 'Modus Tenendi Parliamentum,' and the 'Modus' was an integral part of his record. To it reference was made on points of procedure, and out of it grew that committee, of which Hakewill speaks,[2] appointed 'for the collecting of the Rules and Orders of that House,

[1] The earliest known use of the phrase 'House of Lords' occurs in 1544 (Parry, *Parliaments and Councils of England*, p. xlii., though the 'Parliament Chamber' is also referred to as 'the said house' in Stat. 31 Henry VIII, c. 10). It did not become common until long after Henry VIII's reign.

[2] *The Manner*, etc., 1659, pref.

which being collected, they caused to be fairly engrossed in a Roll of Parchment, which by Order is alwayes read in the beginning of every Parliament, and resteth in the custody of the Clarke of that House, to be presently resorted unto upon all occasions, whereby much of their pretious time is saved, which otherwise perhaps would have been spent in the debating of the Rules and Orders of their House.' The fact that a clerk of the Parliaments thought it incumbent upon him in 1510 to prefix to his record the 'Modus' does not of course make it of any value for the reigns of Ethelred or Henry II; but it does show that it was considered authoritative on parliamentary procedure in Tudor times. It was in fact the progenitor of a long line of treatises by clerks of the Parliament stretching down to May's 'Parliamentary Practice,' and it should not have been ignored when the MS. Journals were printed.

The omission of really irrelevant matter in the MS. is not so serious, but a scientific edition would indicate its presence and also the changes in the text made by erasure and interlineation. The printed Journals, however, incorporate in their sixteenth-century text marginal notes of the eighteenth century without distinction. Where, as in 1541, there happen to be two distinct Journals in the MS., only one is printed, and that one is selected because it is more detailed, without any attempt on the part of the editors to establish the relation between the two. The editors of the 'Commons' Journals' did better when they impartially printed without comment two distinct Journals for 1624. The extent to which the printed text of the 'Lords' Journals' may vary from the MS. may be illustrated by an example dealing with the famous case of Richard Hunne. The MS. under April 2, 1515, has—

'Item adduct' ab eadem Domo communi sunt bille videlicet billa concernens appellam homicidii pro liberis Rĉdi Hunne et billa Resumptionis . . .'

The printed text [1] converts this into—

'Item adducte ab eadem Domo Communi sunt Bille, *videlicet*
Billa concernens Appellam Homicidii.
Pro Liberis Ricardi Hume
Et Billa Resumptionis. . . .'

thus turning one bill into two and making both unintelligible, besides misspelling Hunne's name. The Journal for the session of January–March 1557–8 is throughout headed '1556,' and that for November 1558 is headed '1557.' Finally, no notice was taken of the date or changes of hand in the MS., and no attempt whatever was made to collate the MSS. at the House of Lords with other extant versions of the Journals.[2] The criticism that applies to the Rolls of Parliament and to the Statutes of the Realm applies also to the Journals of both Houses. We have in this country an absolutely unique series of parliamentary records; the editions in which they have to be used are little short of a scandal.

Note on the Clerks of the Parliaments, 1485–1642

In 1485 John Morgan, *alias* Yonge (*d.* 1504), was appointed clerk at the usual fee of £40 a year (Campbell, *Materials*, i. 79) with Thomas Bayen as under-clerk, probably clerk of the Commons (*ib.* i. 351). R. Hatton was associated with Morgan in 1487 (*Rot. Parl.* vi. 408, 555) and remained clerk till the end of Henry VII's reign. John Taylor was appointed on October 29, 1509, and resigned the office to Bryan Tuke on April 17, 1523. On February 13, 1530–1 Edward (afterwards Lord) North was associated with Tuke (*L. & P.* v. 119 [38]). On September 21, 1540, Thomas

[1] *Lords' Journals*, i. 41.

[2] The greatest collection of these outside the House of Lords is among the *Petyt MSS.* in the Inner Temple Library, baldly described in *Hist. MSS. Comm. 11th Rep.*, pt. vii. p. 236 as '537 Journals of Parliament, Henry VIII–Charles II, 46 vols. folio.' Then follow 56 vols. folio of *Proceedings in Parliament and Miscellanies* (cf. *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xxviii. 531–42). In *Harleian MS.* 2235 is a transcript of the *Lords' Journals*, 1510–15, made about 1625, probably by W. Collet, deputy to Sir John Borough, keeper of the Records. There are also 'collections from the Journals in *B.M. Add. MS.* 26634, *Stowe MSS.* 357–60, 362–3, *Egerton MS.* 2222.

Soulemont was appointed sole clerk, but he died on July 12, 1541, and William Paget succeeded him on the 19th. On May 10, 1543, T. Knight was associated with Paget. In December 1551 Sir John Mason and Francis Spilman were joint clerks. On October 18, 1574, Spilman and Anthony Mason, *alias* Wyckes, were appointed joint clerks in place of Sir John Mason (who had died in 1566) and the said Spilman (*Dom. Cal.* 1547–80, p. 488). Sir Thomas Smith (1556 ?–1609; not to be confused with the eminent Sir Thomas Smith) was appointed on September 30, 1597, and died on November 27, 1609. He was succeeded by Bowyer, and Bowyer by Henry Elsynge, who is almost invariably confused with his son Henry Elsynge, clerk of the House of Commons till 1648 (*cf.* Elsynge's *Manner of holding Parliaments*, ed. 1768, pref. p. ix.; neither the *Biogr. Brit.* nor the *D.N.B.* is clear on the matter).

Some of the relationships of these clerks are interesting. Morgan was brother of Henry VII's well-known partisan, Morgan of Kidwelly. Thomas Knight was brother-in-law of Secretary Wriothesley. Spilman or Spelman married Sir John Mason's step-daughter, and was father of Secretary Davidson's wife; Anthony Mason, *alias* Wyckes, was a grandson of Sir John's mother by a second marriage; and Smith was apparently son of a mayor of Abingdon, Mason's birthplace and constituency. Robert Bowyer was son of William Bowyer, keeper of the Records in the Tower, and Elsynge was Robert Bowyer's nephew (D'Ewes, *Autobiogr.* ii. 239). Spelman was connected with the famous Sir Henry Spelman. Secretaries of State, clerks of Parliament, keepers of the Records, and private antiquaries were bred in a common atmosphere and almost in a family circle, and the investigation of their family history would probably throw some light on the development of scientific records and record-keeping in England, and perhaps assist in tracing lost sources.

THE FORTHCOMING BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN BRITISH HISTORY

By HENRY R. TEDDER, F.S.A., *Hon. Treasurer*

Read March 19, 1914

THE title of the paper as it appears in the sessional programme, 'Concerning Historical Bibliography,' is somewhat vague. What I have to say this afternoon chiefly concerns the forthcoming 'Bibliography of Modern British History,' which owes its inception to Fellows of the Royal Historical Society. It is not necessary for me to describe the extensive literature published in various countries and at various times on the subject of Historical Bibliography, as retrospects have been the theme of several papers read by me to the Library Association, some as far back as 1885, when I first submitted to that body 'Proposals for a Bibliography of National History,' since approved, amplified, and improved by Mr. Frederic Harrison and by Dr. G. W. Prothero in addresses before this Society.[1]

The need of a Bibliography of British History has long been recognised. For Germany, France, Belgium, and the United States the well-known works of Dahlmann-Waitz, Langlois, Molinier, Monod, Pirenne, and Larned supply what is required. Fourteen years ago the late Professor Gross, of Harvard, produced his admirable book 'The Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485,' but for the last four centuries we have nothing sufficiently complete and methodical to be adequate to the requirements of modern historical study. It is believed that a bibliography of later British history will be

[1] 'Proposals for a New Historical Bibliography' (*Transactions*, 1897, pp. 19–30). 'Presidential Address,' February 1903, (*Transactions*, 1903, pp. vii–xxxiii.).

of value, not only to British students, but also, in an even greater degree, to those of America and Continental Europe.

Professor Charles Gross unfortunately died before he was able to see through the press a second edition of his book. In his preface he stated :

> ' Mr. Tedder and Mr. Harrison both demand, however, that the proposed bibliography, unlike those of Dahlmann-Waitz and Monod, should give some account of the contents and a brief estimate of the value of the books named ; and they agree in asserting that the labour of preparing such a treatise can be successfully undertaken only by some method of co-operation on the part of various experts.'

He added :

> ' But a co-operative scheme of this sort is difficult to initiate and carry out ; and as no such scheme has as yet been undertaken, I have ventured to put forth a bibliography of that part of the subject which extends from the earliest times to 1485.'

Professor Gross deserves the sincere gratitude of students for the enterprise and self-denying labour with which he commenced his laborious task, and the skill and energy with which he carried it out. His book is too well known to require any special description. It contains a systematic survey of the printed materials relating to the political, constitutional, legal, social, and economic history of England, Wales, and Ireland. The manuscript materials are dealt with only incidentally ; Scotland was omitted except in so far as she affected English history. All honour to Dr. Gross for the work which he carried out, but the part he completed is really the least difficult of achievement by individual effort. It is when we approach the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that choice and selection increase in difficulty, and it is in these later periods when choice and selection become more and more urgent. The continuation will be on a more comprehensive plan than that of Dr. Gross, and it is proposed to deal with unprinted materials more completely than was contemplated by him.

Besides Dr. Charles Gross's work, to which the enterprise I am about to describe is supplementary, one or two recent representative undertakings may be noted. There is, for instance, the 'Guide to the MS. Materials for the History of the United States to 1783,' published by the Carnegie Institution at Washington in 1908, and the new edition of Dahlmann-Waitz.

The former work was compiled by Professor C. M. Andrews, of the Johns Hopkins University, and Miss F. G. Davenport, for the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and was published in 1908. It includes the British Museum, the minor London archives, and the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge. It does not include the Public Record Office. It is supplementary to previous volumes on MS. materials in Cuban and Spanish archives. Paris, Mexico, and Rome are yet to be dealt with. There will be references to the contents of these works in the projected publication I am describing.

The recently published eighth edition of Dahlmann-Waitz's 'Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte' (1912) is a monumental work. The title-page contains the names of no less than forty-two persons who helped the editor, Paul Herre, in this prodigious undertaking. The main titles run up to 13,380—an increase of 3000 upon the entries in the seventh edition (1906). References to unprinted manuscript sources are not included, nor are there notes; but in the latest edition these are represented by references to other sources of information in the alphabetical index, which extends in three columns from page 980 to page 1290. The work is in two divisions—one of subjects and one in historical order. The date extends from the earliest times to 1911, and it is a select bibliography.

In addition to these bibliographies 'The Dictionary of National Biography' is a rich storehouse of historical information and must not be forgotten, but it is in alphabetical order of persons, and for this reason possesses but remote interest for our purpose. I have suggested to the

publishers the desirability of a chronological index, classified under names and under subjects, which would form a useful historical clue to a work of reference of which every Englishman has reason to be proud. The useful classified lists of authorities appended to the volumes of the 'Cambridge Modern History,' and the annotated lists of books recommended by the Historical Association, show how widespread is the demand for guides to historical reading.

There are two books to which I should like to refer with special commendation, although they belong to mediæval history and do not concern the period in which we are interested. One is 'English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century,' by C. L. Kingsford : with an appendix of chronicles and pieces hitherto for the most part unprinted' (Oxford, 1913, 8vo). The other, 'A Select Bibliography for the Study, Sources, and Literature of English Mediæval Economic History, compiled by a Seminar of the London School of Economics, under the supervision of Hubert Hall' (London, 1914, 8vo). This is minutely classified, with a good index ; introductions to each division take the place of notes.

In 1909 the American Historical Association appointed a Committee to consider the question of continuing Gross's Bibliography in collaboration with the Royal Historical Society. The American Committee consists of Prof. E. P. Cheyney (Pennsylvania), Chairman; Prof. A. L. Cross (Michigan) ; Prof. R. B. Merriman (Harvard) ; Prof. E. C. Richardson (Princeton) ; and Prof. Williston Walker (Yale). The Council of the Royal Historical Society appointed Prof. Firth, Mr. Hubert Hall, Dr. G. W. Prothero, Mr. H. R. Tedder, and Dr. (now Sir) A. W. Ward. After long negotiations, satisfactory arrangements have been concluded between the two Committees, and the 'Bibliography of Modern British History' will comprise a select and classified list of works in English as well as in foreign languages. It is designed as a guide to the principal MS. authorities as well as printed books, pamphlets, dissertations, articles in

periodicals (English and foreign), and articles of original value in dictionaries, encyclopædias, transactions of societies, and collective works. It is a national Bibliography, comprising England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain, past and present. We shall include the American Colonies down to 1776, India since the Charter of Queen Elizabeth to the East India Company in 1600, Canada since 1763, South Africa since 1795, Australia and the Crown Colonies since the beginning of the British occupation.

The titles of entries will be taken directly from the works themselves, reasonably abbreviated where necessary, when the scope and contents are clearly indicated in the titles; this information will be supplemented by an occasional bibliographical note. Short explanatory and critical notes will be added where desirable. Mr. Frederic Harrison rightly asserts that 'just as a real history is not a series of annals, so a real bibliography is not a mere catalogue of titles.' The notes will be brief and restricted to matters not of ordinary knowledge; commonplaces on well-known books and authors would be out of place. The work will extend ultimately from 1485 (where Professor Gross's work ends) to 1910 (end of the reign of Edward VII).

There will be six parts, grouped into three volumes, as follows:—

Vol. I.—General

Part I.—An introduction explaining the scope and arrangement of the work; with preliminary and general matters, such as brief accounts of important libraries, collections of archives and documents (MS. and printed), publications of learned societies, collections and series of printed works, prints, facsimiles, etc.; indications of bibliographies, dictionaries, encyclopædias, and periodicals of an historical nature; historical atlases; works on historical geography, topography, chronology, epigraphy, and auxiliary subjects, such as heraldry and numismatics.

Part II.—A select list of authorities for the whole period (1485 to 1910), or the greater part of it, arranged in sections, as mentioned hereafter.

VOL. II.—THE TUDOR AND STEWART PERIODS

Part III.—A list of authorities for the Tudor period (1485 to 1603), arranged in sections.

Part IV.—Similar lists for the Stewart period (1603 to 1714).

VOL. III.—HANOVERIAN PERIODS

Parts V and VI.—Similar lists for the first Hanoverian Period (1714 to 1815), and the second Hanoverian Period (1815 to 1910).

The entries will be classified as far as possible in the following sections :

(1) General history, including general newspapers and periodicals of the period ; works primarily belonging to, and therefore classified under other heads, but bearing also on general history, to be indicated under this head by cross-references.

(2) Legal and constitutional history ; justice and police ; political philosophy.

(3) Religious and ecclesiastical history.

(4) Literature ; art and science ; education.

(5) Naval and military history.

(6) Biography ; genealogy ; and family history.

(7) Local history ; counties, towns, etc.

(8) Trade, industry, and commerce ; economic theory ; social history ; manners and customs.

(9) Voyages and travels ; foundation of colonies and dependencies.

In each section entries will be arranged in two groups : (*a*) sources : (1) manuscript, (2) printed ; (*b*) later works.

Precise instructions for cataloguing printed books have been drawn up, and a card arranged for full particulars to be supplied in a uniform manner. As the description

of MS. authorities will form a special feature, some details may be given. At the head of each section of each part mention will be made of (*a*) single works or records in MS. of first-rate importance (if any) which are still unprinted or only partly printed. When the MS. original of any particular printed source or of a portion of such source (*e.g.*, letters or illustrative documents) is known to exist, it will be mentioned in a note under the description of that source or the locality where it is preserved; *e.g.*, under 'Life of Col. Hutchinson' reference should be made to B.M. Add. MSS. 25901; or under Warburton's 'Prince Rupert' to B.M. Add. MSS. 18980–2, as the source of the transcription. This is of special importance in cases where the transcript is incorrect, as in Cardwell's 'Documentary Annals.' After this will follow (*b*) private collections of MSS. bearing wholly or in part on the section, *e.g.*, the Harleian or the Hatfield MSS., whether these remain unprinted, or have been calendared, or wholly or partly printed; information will be given as to which of these processes (if any) has taken place, and in what form. Where such MSS. or collections of MSS. have already been described, reference will be made to such description. A third section (*c*) will describe such portions of public collections of State Papers and other official documents, whether in Great Britain or abroad, as bear especially on the section. The great collections of MSS., State Papers, etc., will be more or less fully described in Part I (preliminary matter); in the case of a sub-section devoted to some particular matter, *e.g.*, the Armada, Mary Stewart, or the Long Parliament, information about MSS. bearing on such matter will be placed at the head of the sub-section, not of the section.

In connexion with the subject of the 'Original Sources,' there are two recent incidents to which I should like to draw attention. Lord Haldane, in a recent brilliant lecture 'On the Meaning of Truth in History,' appears to restrict the title of Records to State Papers, of which he speaks with scant respect.

'Let us look at the case of records,' he says. 'Goethe was no doubt right in his scepticism about mere records. For if a man indulges himself with the belief that in quoting records accurately he is collecting the truth about the history of a period he is indulging himself rashly. What do such records consist of? Biographies written at the time, letters, and State Papers are their main forms.' [1]

And he continues:—

'Ambassadors' letters and the letters written to them are documents in which the impressions of the moment are recorded, impressions which are often very evanescent.' [2]

Now it is strange that Lord Haldane does not mention the Records proper, legal and administrative, with which he has himself had to deal. These are minutes of business actually transacted; they tell the secret history of public affairs, and form the safest and only impartial basis for the deductions and comments of historians. It is not necessary for me in this place to draw attention to the value of records. I do not wish to convey a wrong impression of the opinions of a distinguished Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. Nearly ten years ago I was present when Lord Haldane, then a brilliant lawyer, accustomed to make frequent use of record evidence before the highest Courts of the land, presided at a public meeting held under the auspices of many of the leading historical scholars of this country for the purpose of constituting a Fund to provide instruction at the University of London in the methods of studying historical documents. The Advanced Historical Teaching Fund, of which I was Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, had been originally intended as a memorial to Bishop Creighton, and the reports of the Committee will show the good work that was carried on for seven years in training the younger generation of historical writers. On the occasion to which I have referred Lord Haldane delivered an impressive address, in which the importance of the

[1] P. 25. [2] P. 26.

documentary methods of historical research was insisted upon, and when his latest utterance in a Creighton Memorial Lecture on the subject of historical research is read in the light of earlier commendation of the study of original sources, perhaps any impression that he regards documentary evidence with suspicion may be modified.

As regards unprinted materials, we shall probably find in the Reports of the Royal Commission on Public Records many references to new and unsuspected sources of information. There is no general account of the archives of a public nature in this country except the notices in Mr. Scargill-Bird's 'Official Guide to the Public Record Office,' which is devoted to the documents preserved in Chancery Lane. I am not violating official secrecy when I say that the forthcoming (Second) Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records should to a certain extent supply this want. It will deal with the official documents still in the custody of the Courts of Justice, the Judicial or Statutory Registries, the Government Offices, and the various statutory authorities, Commissions, and public institutions within the Metropolitan Area. The variety and extent of the new fields of research have already been indicated by witnesses who have stated in evidence that in some cases outlying archives have not been examined or properly analysed since they were formed, and have not been mentioned in the Reports on the Public Records published between 1800 and 1837. Neither their own custodians nor the officers of the Master of the Rolls seem to have been aware of their extent and their value. The history of many Courts of Law, Registries, and State Departments is still obscure, and much valuable information not hitherto accessible to students has been collected and will be made accessible to students in this Report. The third Report of the Commission will deal with Local Records in England and Wales.

To return to our national Bibliography: the execution has been divided between workers on both sides of the

Atlantic, the American Committee being primarily responsible for the Tudor period, the English Committee for the Stewart period. The following have individually taken charge of the different sections of the work as far as it is yet planned, viz. :—

Tudor Period : (1) Professor Merriman ; (2) Professor Cross ; (3) Professor Williston Walker ; (4) Professor Richardson ; (5) Mr. Corbett ; (6) Dr. R. G. Usher ; (7) (8) and (9) Professor Cheyney. Some of these gentlemen have been working in the British Museum, supplementing what they have been able to do in America.

Stewart Period : (1) Professor Firth ; (2) Professor Hearnshaw, H. D. Hazeltine (Emmanuel College, Cambridge), Rev. J. N. Figgis ; (3) Rev. Dr. W. H. Frere, Rev. B. F. Relton, Dr. W. A. Shaw ; (4) Sir A.W. Ward, Mr. C. H. Collins Baker, Reginald Blomfield, Mr. R. A. A. Berry (King's College, Cambridge), Dr. A. E. Shipley (Christ's College, Cambridge), Dr. Norman Moore, Principal Hadow, Mr. J. B. Williams ; (5) Professor Firth, Colonel E. M. Lloyd ; (6) Mr. H. R. Tedder ; (7) Mr. H. E. Malden ; (8) Archdeacon Cunningham, Dr. Bernard Henderson ; (9) Professor Egerton, Mr. E. A. Benians (St. John's College, Cambridge). In this period Professor Hume Brown, Professor Lloyd, and Mr. R. Dunlop take charge of the work dealing with Scotland, Wales, and Ireland respectively ; and other historians of distinction promise their assistance.

At the request of the joint Committee, Dr. G. W. Prothero has undertaken the duties of General Editor as well as the special charge of Volume I. The work will be published by Mr. John Murray.

The number of entries has been provisionally estimated at about 10,000. Probably the total will be from 12,000 to 15,000. Each volume will contain an index of authors' names (giving dates of birth and death where known), together with short titles of the works mentioned in the catalogue under each name, and of other matters. We insist upon the titles being taken from the books themselves,

and that all notes shall be based upon real inspection. This is a decision which I think will be heartily approved by historians as well as bibliographers. For Bibliography is essentially a practical pursuit. Like anatomy, with which it has a certain analogy, it must be studied from the actual subject. All mere title knowledge and second-hand information about books should be looked upon with suspicion. Many and long were our discussions as to whether our scheme should aim at including everything, good, bad, and indifferent, or whether it should aim at choice and selection. For my own part, I was at first inclined to recommend the inclusion of almost everything, but I became convinced that the necessary limitations of labour and cost made this impossible. Practical convenience is also in favour of selection. The larger scheme would have made it necessary to introduce the whole of the Thomason tracts, now described in an excellent special catalogue. Moreover, in later times the prodigious growth of topographical history, school books, and small ephemeral treatises of no historical value would have made the work of unwieldy size.

At the same time we shall not include special references to prints, portraits, and maps, except in a collective form. Portraits have already been more or less indexed under the names of their subjects in the 'Dictionary of National Biography.' Dr. Prothero, in his address before the Royal Historical Society already referred to (1903, p. xxiii.), says :

'Our primary rule should be practical convenience—the convenience not of the beginner, or of the *Forscher* anxious to exhaust every possible source of information, but of the great mass of historical readers and students, who come between those extremes. We shall not confine ourselves to the elements, but we shall not attempt to be exhaustive. . . . We shall endeavour to include all books which contain valuable or fruitful ideas not to be found elsewhere, even text-books fit to be recommended to young students ; and we shall prefer omitting bad books to inserting them (as Mr. Larned does) in order to point out that they are bad. But in our selection from the point of view of quality it is impossible

to draw the line of choice with mathematical precision, or to say more than that we should include books good enough to be included, and no other.'

Our bibliography will be in classified order, and not a mere catalogue of titles under authors' names, although some persons who should know better object to classified catalogues. When the late Bodleian Librarian, Mr. Nicholson, was planning the subject-catalogue of the library, he met with opposition from a learned Curator, the late Professor Chandler, who in a printed 'Protest' (1888) said :—

'No real scholar, no man who is capable of literary research, wants a classed catalogue; he hates the very sight of such a thing; it serves no useful purpose, as it is a snare and a delusion. The sciolist, and he alone, thinks how delightful it would be to turn up any given subject and there see all the books that have been written on it. He does not know how impossible the thing is, or what mischiefs result from the attempt to compass such a work.'

To this Nicholson calmly replied :—

'If I were to enter into the details of Prof. Chandler's attack on the subject-catalogue, I trust I should be able absolutely to demolish them to the satisfaction of most members of this University no less than to the satisfaction of most librarians—if indeed any librarian of practical experience in the matter requires such a demolition.'

It is obvious that a work of the nature that I have described could not have been attempted without financial assistance. The Royal Historical Society and the American Historical Association have each voted a sum of fifty pounds a year for three years, and the British Academy has granted twenty-five pounds a year for the same period. But these donations, most welcome as they are, would not have gone very far towards defraying the inevitable expenses of the collection of materials, copying, secretarial duties, etc., quite apart from the cost of printing. It became necessary to ask for contributions from persons

interested in the cause of history, or likely to find the book of use, and one hundred and fifty-two individuals and eighty-seven libraries have either promised or have already sent subscriptions. These results are gratifying, and a sum of nearly one thousand pounds (some part of which is represented by promises) has been secured. The amount of money required by the Committee has not yet, however, been obtained. More subscriptions are needed, and, as the Treasurer of the Fund, I shall be glad to receive them. We place no limit to generosity, but a subscription of two guineas and over will entitle the donor to a copy of the work. When published it will be sold at three guineas nett. I need scarcely add that the various members of the Committee give their services gratuitously. The American Committee are appealing to the public in the United States and Canada.

We had hoped to have been able to publish the first volume by this time, but the work was more or less delayed last year by the Historical Congress, which prevented Dr. Prothero touching it for several months, and this hindrance was followed by his unfortunate illness in the autumn. Dr. Prothero reports that a large part of the material for the first or 'General' volume is ready; the Public Record Office Calendars, the Collections of MSS., State Papers, and the Historical MSS. Commission are indexed; accounts have been prepared of the Spanish and Paris archives as far as they relate to our subject, and some 2000 titles of books coming under the 'General' head have been arranged. There remain the archives of Berlin and elsewhere in Germany as well as Austria, Italy, Belgium, and perhaps Russia, the historical MSS. in British Libraries and those of the great families not dealt with by the Historical MSS. Commission, as well as additions to the titles of books of a general or introductory kind. Much remains before the first volume is ready for the printer, but about half the work is done. As to the second volume (Tudors and Stewarts), all the material of the sixteenth century is in

the possession of Professor Cheyney, and he is now engaged in putting it in order. The American cards have been duplicated to avoid accidents. Dr. Prothero hopes soon to receive this matter. The seventeenth century is not in so forward a state, but about two-thirds of the total number of slips are in the hands of the Editor. After the appearance of the first (or 'General') volume the Tudor part of the second volume will naturally be the earliest to get into type. When all the material for volumes i. and ii. are in type or ready for the printer, the third and final volume, dealing with the period since 1714, will be taken up without delay. The progress has not been slower than is usual in co-operative work, mostly unremunerated, and we confidently expect before very long to present subscribers with the first volume. The laborious undertaking owes much to the distinguished and highly competent General Editor, Dr. G. W. Prothero, who has devoted to the work his well-known energy, industry, zeal, and skill, and to whom both American and English Committees are greatly indebted.

There is every reason to believe that the projected 'Bibliography of British History since 1485' will in all respects be worthy of Anglo-Saxon scholarship; that it will be exhaustive in research and judicious in selection; that it will present an ample and well-systematised assortment of authorities on the subject, and above all that the conduct of the undertaking will not bring discredit upon the Royal Historical Society, which initiated it.

JOHN WYCLIFFE, THE REFORMER, AND CANTERBURY HALL, OXFORD

By the Rev. H. S. CRONIN, M.A., B.D., F.R.Hist.S.

Read November 20, 1913

In this paper I propose to deal with two questions: (1) the history of the contest between the regulars and seculars for the possession of Canterbury Hall, Oxford, and (2) the identity of the secular Warden. It is better, it is certainly quite easy, for purposes of treatment, to keep these two questions distinct; it is better also to take them in the order just given.

Canterbury Hall was founded by Simon Islep, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury from 1349 to 1366, with the co-operation of his nephew and of the prior and monks of the Benedictine house of Christ Church, Canterbury. Islep gave, *inter alia*, certain property at Oxford; his nephew, the manor of Woodford; the Church of Canterbury (*i.e.* the Archbishop and his Chapter), the advowson of Pagham. According to all accounts this last was by far the better part of the endowment; it could not in canon law be alienated without the Church's consent, and during a vacancy in the primatial see the monastery had the presentation. The royal licence for the foundation of the college, and for the appropriation to it of the advowson of Pagham, was granted at Westminster on October 20, 1361, Simon Langham being at the time Abbot of the Benedictine house

of Westminster and Treasurer of England.[1] The terms of this licence provided expressly for a mixed society, for a certain number of *studentes, tam religiosi quam saeculares*; the licence naturally did not tie the college down as to its numbers, or as to the proportion to be maintained in number between its two constituent elements, or as to their relative position and powers. This would be left for subsequent settlement, and much would depend on many circumstances, especially finance.[2] It is obvious that the more the Church of Canterbury contributed to the endowment the better terms the Chapter would expect and secure, and within limits be right in securing, for the members of their own body. Islep's known solicitude for the education of his monks, joined to the value of Pagham, not only as additional endowment but almost as a necessity for the success of his scheme, makes it certain that with little difficulty they were successful in securing very good terms.[3] Islep, being what he was, and wanting what at the first he did, would prefer, we may take it, if he could, to purchase the monks' support by meeting them halfway rather than to attain his end by such high-handed action as failed with Giffard to augment the revenues of

[1] As Langham was Chancellor in June 1363, when a later licence was granted, he must have had a very clear idea of what had happened in the college during these early years. For the law see the fairly numerous passages in the *Corpus* bearing on the point (e.g. in the second *quæstio* of *Causa XII* of the *Decretum*, part of which Wycliffe quotes in the *De Ecclesia*, p. 371), and Lyndwood, iii. 8, *ecclesiarum*, a reference kindly given me by the Rev. E. G. De S. Wood. Many of the documents concerning the early history of the college are printed in the Appendix to Pratt's *The Acts and Memorials of John Foxe*, ii. pp. 922 ff. I do not give the precise references except for new matter or for a new point.

[2] Secondary authorities on this period want to be used with extreme caution.

[3] *Litt. Cant.* ii. 386. The letter is dated November 9, 1359; not at all improbably it was the start of the negotiations which led to the foundation of the college. They could not have begun long after. The terms of the licence are the best evidence we have for Islep's original intentions as to the composition of the college, and, taken with this letter and the statements of the monks, are quite conclusive.

Westbury.[1] Considering the friction existing at Oxford between the regulars and seculars and the whole monastic tradition and attitude of mind, the only likely constitution to commend itself to the Chapter would be one in essentials like that of Durham Hall—the monks under their warden, but forming a sort of governing body; the seculars with definite rights, but inferior in power and position to the regular members of the college, and not members of the governing body.[2]

This, I venture to suggest, is the sort of constitution which we ought to expect, not one in which the seculars were on an equality with the regulars, and still less one which included seculars alone.

This also in its main features would seem, according to the evidence, to have been its original constitution. Two points, to begin with, admit of no doubt; there were four monks in residence from 1363 to fairly late in 1365, and one

[1] Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester 1268–1301, tried in 1288 and afterwards to make prebendal to the collegiate Church of Westbury-on-Trym certain benefices in his gift as bishop. An account of this is given in Mr. J. W. Willis Bund's edition of his register (*Wor. Hist. Soc.*, pp. 1 ff.). As, however, the later registers prove, he was beaten by his chapter, whose interests were affected because during a vacancy they had the right of presentation. Wycliffe was prebendary of Westbury from 1362 to 1375; in 1365, by neglect of duty, he seems to have caused grave scandal (Wittlesey, Register, fol. 1 and 11). I hope to deal with this later in the *Historical Review*, but, I fear, I have no doubt about it, nor have two or three scholars of judgment to whom I communicated the discovery nine or ten months ago. I cannot at times help feeling that the estimate of Wycliffe's character in the past has been too high and has prejudiced the study of the fourteenth century; from the 'valet' point of view, at all events, he is not quite first class.

[2] Though, of course, this Durham Hall was later in date. The *Munimenta Academica* (*passim*) and the *Calendar of Papal Registers* (Letters, iv. 52) testify to the treatment which the seculars were meting out to their opponents—it was anything but generous, and though its generosity is not now our first concern, we cannot shirk the question. The whole thing was largely business, and business so often ends 'below the best.' This being so, the power of his Chapter almost to dictate to Islep becomes the key of the position—and it has been so strangely overlooked. Why should we assume that they would give so much to their opponents?—and if we do, what is to become of the traditional picture of the grasping mediæval monk?

of them, Henry Woodhall, had on March 13, 1363, been nominated to the wardenship according to the form observed in the appointment of monastic officers. From 1363, therefore, to 1365 Canterbury Hall was a mixed society. The 'Litterae Cantuarienses,'[1] which give us this evidence concerning Woodhall, give us also a copy of the ordinance in virtue of which the nomination was made. It stands in the original, a paper book, wherein letters, etc., were entered at or about their own proper date, immediately after the deed nominating Woodhall, and it was written unquestionably, as Dr. Mason kindly informs me, at the same time as its predecessor, by the same hand and with the same ink. Woodhall's second nomination, which follows it, was squeezed into the same page in 1367. As the copy, therefore, belongs to 1363, the ordinance itself belongs to the same date, a fact the printed edition of the 'Litterae' entirely obscures. It reads like a permanent enactment, and it is quite clearly part of a larger whole. This larger whole ought to be the statutes of the college current in 1363. We meet this ordinance again almost word for word in Courtenay's statutes,[2] where he expressly claims it as part of the original statutes given to the college by Simon Islep at the time of its foundation. Courtenay's statement and the form and date of this ordinance mutually confirm each other, the ordinance vouching for the date of the statutes quoted by Courtenay, Courtenay himself for the validity and character of the ordinance.

The claim of being the original statutes of the college is advanced for two distinct sets of statutes of a very different character: the statutes published in 1731 by Bishop Wilkins[3] from Islep's Register and assigned, as I understand him, by their editor to February or March 1363 (1362 O.S.) and the statutes, just referred to, which are quoted by Archbishop Courtenay, and expressly, as we have

[1] *Litt. Cant.* ii. 416, 417.

[2] Ch. Ch. Canterbury, Reg. B, fol. 381, etc., partially printed in the preface to the *Litterae* (ii. pp. xxx. ff.).

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, pp. 52 ff.

seen, assigned by him to Simon Islep. This was in 1383, when Courtenay altered the constitution of the college, making it once more a mixed society. Of the position of the seculars under Islep's constitution Courtenay says nothing, but he is quite explicit with regard to the points of most importance for our purpose. Under Islep in 1363, as under Courtenay later, the warden was to be a monk of Canterbury, a monastic officer nominated in the usual way; he was to have with him three regulars, to whom the title of *socius* was to be given. It is unnecessary to point out that this sort of constitution is in accordance with the probabilities, for it is hardly conceivable that the part-donors of some two-thirds—or should we say three-quarters?—of the endowment would not seek and obtain so much in return; its provisions are attested in part by a document of certain 1363 date, and explain the presence of Woodhall and his colleagues in the college.[1]

Dr. Sheppard, however, who accepts Wilkins' date and claims for the Wilkins statutes, thinks that, as to the authorship of the statutes quoted by him, Courtenay deceived himself; Dr. Rashdall seems to think he was imposed upon by the monks.[2] It is not apparent that the monks would gain much by the attempt; for the claims of the seculars had been disposed of ten years before; nor was the attempt, I should imagine, very likely to succeed. Courtenay was a trained lawyer and a capable man of affairs, and had trained lawyers on his staff; he had been Chancellor of Oxford in 1367, and for the purposes of his degree, of necessity, much in residence in the years immediately before[3]; how much stir the case created in the University in the later sixties we cannot say, but we credit Courtenay with conspicuous apathy and lack of intelligence if we think he came to the business without a first-hand working

[1] The *consortes* say that the revenues of Pagham were *quasi tota substantia sustentationis clericorum hujusmodi*; this agrees with what we know of the value of the living at different times.

[2] *Litt. Cant.* ii. xxx.; Rashdall, *Universities*, p. 499, note 1.

[3] Courtenay, born 1342, was *doctor utriusque juris*.

knowledge of the history of the college—enough at all events to arouse suspicion, if a trick were tried which affected the rights of the see. He was not a partisan of the regulars, rather the reverse, and at the time not on the very best of terms with his Chapter; he was dissatisfied with their administration of the college, and a few months before had submitted it to a pretty drastic visitation.[1] He was, I submit, acute enough and well-informed enough, and in a fitting frame of mind to ask for seals and signatures, I am entirely unable to see how we can discount or explain away his statement in any way whatsoever, especially as Langham, William Wittlesey, who was Islep's nephew, and Simon Sudbury, who dealt faithfully with his Chapter for an attempted usurpation, all so far as they go, and in the essential matter, the method of appointment of the warden, give him their support.[2]

With regard to the Wilkins' statutes, Wilkins evidently intended to assign them to the year 1363, *i.e.* the end of 1362 (O.S.).[3] He does not give a reason for his date; perhaps he argued thus: the college must have had statutes when it was founded in 1363, and these are statutes of the college; therefore these statutes belong to 1363. The statutes, however, are not dated—I want to insist upon this point—and Wilkins' date, right or wrong, is pure conjecture. I am

[1] So at least I infer from the tone of the document (Courtenay, Register, fol. 23 *v.*) appointing a receiver. Compare the documents *re* Canterbury Hall immediately following and on 39 *v.* (*omnem rancorem si quem contra nos ob nostrum factum conceperitis*) and 43 *v.* These documents have not been published.

[2] For Langham, compare his Register, fol. 59 *v.*, but especially the *Expositio Causae pro parte domini Simonis*, etc. (Pratt, *op. cit.* p. 928); for Wittlesey, Register, fol. 86 *v.*, where Bidyngden (*sic*), a monk of Canterbury, is appointed to the wardenship of the College founded by Islep *de bonis dicte ecclesie*, after being nominated to the Archbishop *juxta formam fundationis aulae prefatae* (August 10, 1371), and two other documents on or near the same folio; for Sudbury, Register, fol. 61; Sudbury cancels an irregular appointment and makes another from one of three persons nominated by the prior and monks.

[3] 37 Edw. III; A.C. 1362. *D.N.B.* gives 1362 for the date of the foundation of the College (wrongly); for the description of its constitution as given therein I can find no authority.

convinced he is wrong, and that the proper date for them is at earliest the last few months of Islep's life, late 1365 or early 1366. My reasons are these: Islep's Register falls into three or more divisions, the first of which was gradually built up by quinions as occasion arose; the leaves of the first quinion are numbered 1 to 10, of the sixth 51 to 60; with the seventh, the thirteenth, and the nineteenth quinions the numbers begin over again, but with one dot in front of them, or two or three, as the case may be. Thus the leaves of quinion 21 are .˙. 21 to .˙. 30. So far all is regular except that one leaf, once there, has since been lost. Then comes the last gathering of this division, the one in which the Wilkins' statutes stand; it is a quaternion,[1] not a quinion, its first four leaves are numbered .˙. 31 to .˙. 34, its last four leaves, the four conjugates corresponding to leaves .˙. 31 to .˙. 34 respectively, having no trace of any numbers on them; I am pretty certain that they never had. The leaves which should have borne the numbers .˙. 37 and .˙. 38 are blank, and so is a considerable portion of .˙. 36. Some confusion now exists in the order of the gatherings which follow; but it is easily put right, and evidently in the earliest known condition of the register after binding, which must be very early, the last folio of our first division was followed by another division, once kept quite distinct, dealing with the vacancies of sees from 1351 onwards.[2]

The documents in the first division of the register follow each other in rough chronological order, a displacement of three weeks being, with one exception, the most considerable I could find. The one exception is the Pagham licence (October, 1361), which stands before the Wilkins' statutes. The documents of 1363, still more those of 1361, stand pages back, and documents of late 1365 were reached by

[1] Islep's Registrar must have been a thrifty person.

[2] I wish to thank the Rev. Claude Jenkins, Librarian at Lambeth Palace, for much assistance given me in the course of this investigation; and Sir Clifford Allbutt, Sir A. W. Ward, Professor J. P. Whitney, and Mr. G. G. Coulton for criticism and advice.

the time at which the gathering in which the statutes are found had been begun. Such documents occupy folios .·. 31—.·. 34 *recto*, this last page being filled right to the end. At the very top of .·. 34 *verso* stands the Pagham licence (1361); then, without a gap, follow the Wilkins statutes, which extend to the *verso* of .·. 36, the latter half of which, like .·. 37 and .·. 38, is blank. There is, I wish to repeat, no gap before those closely related documents, the licence and the statutes, and only one interpretation of the evidence seems to me permissible. They were entered at the very close of Islep's life, after the last dated document was entered, *i.e.* not earlier than the middle of March 1366.

Their position in the register after documents of 1366 is also a strong, a very strong, presumption that their proper date is also 1366.

Let us take another point, which, because it is generally admitted, I need not labour. The Wilkins' statutes, it is almost always said, suit a purely secular society, and such a society alone. The warden was to be a M.A. or to have made considerable progress towards the arts' degree; any fellow of the college entering religion was to vacate his fellowship; a fellow totally incapacitated, or suffering from an incurable disease, was to receive a pension. The first is practically designed to exclude regulars[1]; the second is inexplicable in the statutes of a mixed society except on the assumption of the most careless drafting; and as to the third, monasteries provided for their sick members and the college had no funds to spare; with violence only can they be reconciled with the known composition of the college before the end of 1365.

If, then, we accept provisionally Courtenay's statement,

[1] I understand from *Mun. Acad.* ii. 388, that non-M.A.s were practically equivalent to *religiosi*; and although the warden need not have got so far as the *magistratus*—the statement current that he had to be M.A. is wrong—the qualifications required were in practice, as they were meant to be, a bar to all non-seculars. Other arguments founded on the statutes might be adduced in favour of a date later than the quarrel or Wycliffe's appointment.

for which the evidence is hardly to be set aside, and, also provisionally, assign the Wilkins' statutes to 1366, the date almost demanded for them, we can see how things plan out; remembering that this undated document bears no trace whatever of anyone's approval, neither of the king nor of the chapter, not even of the archbishop, the consent of all of whom would seem to be essential. The approval of the college is also wanting. In 1363, then, the archbishop founded his college, placed there a regular warden, chosen by him from three persons nominated by the monastery, three regular fellows (*socii*) chosen probably by the Chapter, and eight persons whom we will call *saeculares studentes* and whose status for the present we leave undefined. This scheme did not work,[1] and towards the end of 1365 the archbishop decided to change the constitution of the college. He dismissed the four regulars, appointed a secular warden, John Wycliffe, and three secular fellows (*socii*), Selby, Midelworthy, and Benger, who, by the by, must surely be of the diocese of Exeter, not of Oxford,[2] as the documents have it; the old *saeculares studentes*, or such of them as had been appointed or remained, going on as before. Pending the issue of fresh statutes their rights remained untouched and their position unaffected, only, if, as I believe, they had no share in the government themselves, they passed to the control of a secular governing body. In so doing there is no doubt whatever that Islep acted *ultra vires*; he certainly lacked the sanction of the King to any such change in the constitution of the college,[3] as licensed by him, and the approval

[1] It is usual to lay the blame for this on Woodhall's violent temper, and when grounds for the opinion are given, to allege the incident of Woodhall's doctorate, narrated in the *Mun. Acad.* i. 221 ff. It is difficult to get to the bottom of this matter, but the kind of support he received makes it very likely that Woodhall was in the right; it reads like vested interests. In any case, he was not, it seems, in 1360 on bad terms with the seculars, and of violence of temper there is not a word.

[2] The Oxford diocese was formed in 1542; Oxoniensis is read for Exoniensis in Walsingham, ii. 218.

[3] See the *Perdonatio*, Pratt, *op. cit.* p. 935.

of his Chapter cannot be reconciled with the litigation which took place thereafter. Their approval of the secularisation of the college, and still more their approval of the Wilkins' statutes—for which their approval, we must note, is formally asked—would have nonsuited them at once. On the other hand, a serious flaw like this in their legal position, joined to the moral and legal claims of the monks as joint-founders of the college, which, according to the evidence, they never signed away, explains why the seculars lost the wardenship in Langham's court, and afterwards their rights in the college on their appeal to Rome ; the Reformer, indeed, more or less says so in the ' De Ecclesia.'[1]

For any temporary arrangement, however, Islep's power was sufficient ; as founder and benefactor of the college he had a certain claim to do what he liked with what had been in part his own ; he had also a certain undefined authority over and above his legal rights as visitor and archbishop. These were enough to carry on with pending a permanent solution. The monks, however, and equally perhaps the Benedictine Chancellor, would not be slow to challenge his position, and to compel him to put himself in order, were he not so doing of his own accord. It is so much simpler, therefore, to regard the licence and the Wilkins' statutes, not as two derelicts of 1361 and 1363 respectively, which came together in the register by accident in 1366, but as evidence of the archbishop's efforts in 1366 to legalise the actual situation. In 1366 a copy of the licence was required with a view to alteration ; new statutes were required for a purely secular community. Had Islep lived, perhaps had he not been ill, he would have succeeded in doing what he wished. The king, we may take it, would have raised no difficulty, though doubtless, as in 1372, he would have exacted a fine ; the acquiescence of the

[1] P. 371. *Et cum pretextu illius fuci sophistici episcopus et suum capitulum sunt una persona a qua non licet alienare bona illius ecclesie, ista persona vendicat bona illius collegii proprietarie possidere.* This, I take it, is merely an opponent's way of saying what I have said above.

monks after negotiation might have been secured by concessions, perhaps in other matters, which would have satisfied their ideas of what was just to themselves. The evidence as a whole, especially the litigation and the Church's double victory, makes it most improbable this was ever done; to my thinking, the lack of attestation of the Wilkins' statutes puts the supposition out of court. I see no escape so far from the conclusion that the Wilkins' statutes are draft statutes, nothing more, of 1366; and that the original statutes of the college are those declared to be such by Courtenay.

It has often been pointed out that in their *expositio causae* Langham and the monks appeal to certain statutes enacted by the founder with the approval of his Chapter, which, they alleged, supported their claims, and their evidence has been neglected on the ground that they were interested parties, This, of course, is not in any case true of Langham, any more than it is true of any other judge against whom an appeal is lodged. The monks, too, had to be careful; they had their enemies at Rome,[1] clever and experienced adversaries, and, to put it on no higher grounds, it would not serve their purpose to advance as a proof that which the least investigation would upset. We may assume, and we may make the same assumption of the seculars, that they made the best of their case; but their evidence is evidence, and not only did it satisfy both Langham and the Papal Court, which the secular evidence did not, but it agrees with remarkable accuracy with what we can discover of the facts. However, it has not, I think, been pointed out that in their own *expositio causae* the seculars fail to appeal to any statutes whatever, and that the Reformer's 'De Ecclesia' makes the same omission. First in the *expositio* comes a condensed history of the college, convenient, perhaps, rather than candid; then the statement that Islep had appointed Wycliffe *per suas litteras*, which

[1] Cf. *Litt. Cant.*, ii. 510, if a reference is wanted for what might be assumed.

we know to have been the case, and then complaints of Langham's conduct and of the inconvenience caused thereby. In marked contrast to the regulars, they base their claims on the archbishop's mandate, and on that alone, which is exactly what their opponents say of them.[1] Their omission to appeal to the Wilkins' statutes, unless they lacked validity, is remarkable, especially as Benger, their proctor, seems to have known his trade.[2] If, on the contrary, they lacked validity, the less said of them the better; the seculars' best defence lay in Islep's prestige and vague authority, and this is in effect the line they took. Everything points to the same conclusion, and the eighteenth-century editor's date will, I fear, have to go, with much which has been written and said on the strength of it.

This is the crucial point. Time, I regret, will only allow me to deal in the fewest words, and, I regret, quite dogmatically, with four or five other points at most.

(1) Langham, in 1367, did not expel the seculars, he did not expel even the intruders; he tried to restore the wardenship to Henry Woodhall, but failed to do even that.[3]

(2) The exclusion of one party or the other was not raised, until in 1368 at earliest, the case reached Rome on the seculars' appeal, probably in consequence of Langham's failure to effect a compromise.[4] Perhaps it was the only thing to do; hardship, not very much, may have been caused to individuals, but with Shirley I conclude that

[1] In essentials the Reformer takes up the same line and with an equal lack of candour.

[2] The *Commissio Causae*, which Pratt did not print, is a most amusing document. It does not raise one's opinion of the *consortes*—or of mediæval lawyers—or leave the impression that they had a strong case. An important point, noticed on the next page, is the refusal of costs to the monks.

[3] The point is important. Lechler and the *D.N.B.* have no authority for their statements to the contrary. Even the *consortes* do not support them. Langham had no occasion or chance to issue fresh statutes (cf. *Litt. Cant.* ii. p. xxxi.).

[4] *Traditio Apostolorum*, November 29, 1367 (Langham's Register, fol. 59 *v.*). The *consortes*, and the Reformer, if he were the Warden, were, we note, the appellants.

there was no real injustice done, and there was no vindictiveness. Langham certainly was implicated in the rejection of the papal tribute in 1366—he was Chancellor at the time; the warden, if he were the Reformer, may have been, though I cannot think it likely.[1] At Canterbury, at any rate, he would appear before a judge to whom *ex hypothesi* he had rendered signal service; at Rome he and Langham were at the worst both offenders, Langham the more conspicuous of the two. The case long lay in doubt, for it was not a fight between the wealthy foundation of Canterbury and four poor clerks, as Lewis puts it sentimentally, but between the former, backed by its friends, and the powerful and not over-scrupulous secular interest of Oxford, supported by all, and they were many, who envied the monks or disliked or feared them. The costs of both parties came out of the estate; the victors had to pay a heavy fine; for seven years, moreover, they had been excluded from all enjoyment of the revenues, which for the seculars was so much gain.[2] The case ended in April 1372; about this date, and probably not very long before,[3] a prebend at Lincoln was reserved for the

[1] Lewis' date for the *Determinatio* is a guess. As Loserth shews, a date some ten or twelve years later is, with our present knowledge, much more convincing. Would an apprentice-theologian be allowed to intervene in such high matters, and could he intervene without disaster to his side? In early 1366 Wycliffe had not yet 'opposed.' When pages have been written on Wycliffe's part in the affair, which is much more than doubtful, it is strange that Langham's, which is certain, has been so consistently ignored.

[2] Readers of the *Litt. Cant.* will doubtless remember the passage on p. 491 of vol. ii, '*Insuper quamplures aulae Oxonienses nuper perquisitae collegio, una dumtaxat excepta, venditae sunt per scolares seculares et eorum feoffatores eo quod condicio feoffamenti, religiosis et secularibus nuper facti, per exclusionem secularium est subducta.*' The seculars seem to have known their business; the monks to have received a much impoverished estate. The date is October 1370, not 1369.

[3] *Calendar of Papal Registers*, Letters, iv. 193. The reservation, according to Wycliffe, was given of the Pope's own accord, which is important though it does not exclude hints from the king or Langham or from someone else. It came just before the Reformer's licence, of which late 1371 or early 1372 ought to be the date.

Reformer; assuming he was warden, this looks like compensation for the most conspicuous sufferer.

(3) The Reformer in the 'De Ecclesia' writes: 'Islep founded a college at Oxford . . . and ordained that *pure clerici saeculares* should study there.' This is certainly untrue of 1363 and of most of 1365. It is true to some extent of late 1365, though of course he begs the whole question of Islep's power to act and the source of the endowments, which the *consortes* also beg. *Islep*, we may note, *fundavit—Islep ordinavit*.[1]

(4) In 1363–5 the *studentes saeculares* of the original foundation were eight in number; by 1372 they had all disappeared, shouldered out, perhaps, by their self-constituted champions.[2] Funds were low, for Midelworthy, we may note, the junior *socius* in residence, had left the college by 1369.[3] During the trial they are not mentioned by the seculars; the regulars mention them, but call them not *socii* but *scholares saeculares studentes* who were to be subject to the warden in all things lawful and honest; this kind of description is maintained throughout, the term *socius* being never used of them alone or of the society including them. It was to the three monks of Canterbury alone, duly nominated and elected *socii*, that in 1363 the duty of installing Woodhall was assigned, and it was between them with Woodhall and four *socii saeculares intrusi* that the fight took place. A position of subordination for these *studentes saeculares* seems, as I have pointed out, the

[1] Pp. 370–1; opinions differ as to the interpretation of this passage; my own conviction is that we have here the ex-warden speaking, and not altogether at his best. Wykeham lodged at Canterbury Hall in 1379 *in prima fundatione collegii sui*; had Wycliffe just heard of his intentions?

[2] So I interpret Pratt, *op. cit.* p. 928 (towards the end of text), but it is not quite clear that all eight had been appointed, though some had been. Cf. *Litt. Cant.* ii. 490 . . . *saeculares, quorum tamen nullus juxta primariam ordinacionem admissus superstes sit.* The date is October 1370, not 1369.

[3] This seems a more reasonable interpretation of the facts than to postulate a second Midelworthy (*F.Z.* p. 519); he could still remain a party to the suit, and in fact would have to do so. From the Queen's *computus* I gather he became a fellow early in the year.

most probable position, and it is easier to reconcile with what we know of the college finance. It does not seem to me that its revenues would have supported twelve persons, certainly not on the scale the Wilkins' statutes contemplate ; this arrangement would be possible, if eight dined at the second table.[1]

I find it very hard to believe even for a moment that the Warden of Canterbury Hall and the Reformer were not one and the same person. We have first the express statements of Woodford and the monk of St. Albans, both contemporaries of Wycliffe, together with other testimony of less moment to the same effect. Professor Shirley, indeed, in 1858, challenged Woodford's statement.[2] Assuming that Woodford was the same as the William de Waterford who was still alive and writing in 1433, he pointed out that in 1366 Woodford was but a child, and that the lectures which contained the statement were written in a hurry and during a time of great excitement. It was, he suggested, a piece of careless, perhaps malevolent, gossip, carelessly and somewhat malevolently repeated ; it rested on no first-hand knowledge. A good deal, doubtless, could be said on the other side, even on this assumption ; but in 1858 it was fair criticism and would have to be considered, were the assumption true. Woodford, however, was *not* the same as William Waterford and was *not* a child in 1366, but more or less of the Reformer's own standing, at all events by 1375 or 1376 a Doctor of Divinity of some mark. He tells us himself, and the Reformer more or less confirms his statement, that he was on fairly intimate terms with Wycliffe and that at one time they had worked

[1] At Islep's death the revenues of the college were £68 8*s.* 6*d.* ; what each monk cost in 1363–5 we cannot say, later they received £10 each from Pagham (Wood, *City of Oxford*, ii., 289 and 286) ; on the Wilkins scale the cost of each secular works out at £7 at least, probably much more ; the warden £10, and there were sundry officers. Without Pagham and with a lawsuit there might have been about enough for three, but certainly not enough for four.

[2] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. 513 ff.

together. A natural explanation of the difficult phrase he uses would put this collaboration about 1369, when the excitement about the case was at its height. At all events, during the years in which the case was a matter of general academic interest, Woodford was much in residence at Oxford and was seeing much of the Reformer, and I cannot ask you to believe that he made a mistake, other than wilful, in the identity of the secular protagonist.[1] A charge of wilful mendacity has not, I think, so far been made, nor is it likely nowadays to win much assent.

The identity of the Warden and Reformer was never seriously questioned, if at all, until about seventy years ago, when the discovery was made that a vicar of Mayfield, Islep's favourite place of residence after 1362, was called John Whytecliff, a name different, I submit, but somewhat similar to the Reformer's. He was appointed by the archbishop in July 1361.

Although in the fourteenth century these two names and spellings, with the 't' and without the 't,' were kept normally distinct, they were, quite probably, identical in origin and open to confusion. Moreover, in certain circumstances when the other evidence requires it, a scribe's mistake may always be assumed; though we start, it is needless to add, with the presumption that the scribe is right. When the vicar's name occurs as such, five times in all, at intervals in various registers from 1361 to 1383, it always has the 't'; Whytecliff then, with the 't,' was his name, and, an archbishop's manor being at Mayfield, his name and mode of spelling it must have been known to all the Canterbury staff. They call him such in 1361. Why did he or they, and others not less well-informed, drop the spelling with the 't' and substitute, as they do consistently some thirty times, the other spelling for him as warden from 1365 to 1372? and why did they resume the original spelling in

[1] Woodford, *Quaestiones apud F.Z.*, p. 517; Wycliffe, *De Civili Dominio*, ii. 1, and iii. 351; Little, *Grey Friars*, p. 81, *Quando concurrebam cum eo in lectura sententiarum.*

1368 and again in 1380, when they were dealing with him once more as vicar ? These phenomena are much too regular to be the handiwork of careless copyists, and I think the legitimate conclusion from this evidence alone is that the vicar and the warden were different persons ; in such circumstances confusion, so orderly and yet so frequent, would be quite impossible.[1] At the best, moreover, the possibility of transcriptional error proves nothing of itself ; though were there a weight of evidence, expressed or circumstantial, in favour of their identity, and little or none to the contrary, we might, as the last step in the argument, say, these two names can be confused and in this case have been. Express evidence in favour of this conjecture does not exist ; on the contrary, express evidence of a very cogent kind has to be rebutted. The circumstantial evidence, when one examines it, hardly comes to much. Islep, doubtless, liked the vicar of his own appointment, and thought well of him in this capacity. Intimacy, however, between the country vicar and the Primate of All England is anything but proved, and from what we know of him his appointment to the wardenship at a crisis was not likely and would not have inspired confidence. His excellence as a country parson, assuming he was excellent, was little qualification for an altogether different post. On each mention of his name, even where full titles fall to the lot of other people, he is described as *dominus*, strictly a Bachelor of Arts or less. Registrars have their limitations and one omission of any higher title could not be pressed, though it would not be an argument the other way. Four omissions are quite a different matter, especially as the mastership in arts was the badge of an Oxford secular and the warden actually appointed was prominent in both capacities. The theo-

[1] Both names were familiar in the fourteenth century : among all the cases I have looked into of that period I have found one possible instance of confusion, and that made under provocation (Rev. J. Raine, *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, i., p. 462). I have to thank Mr. Hudson for very kindly giving me copies of the documents.

logical degree should have appeared in the two later deeds. *Venerabilis vir, Johannes de Wyclyf, magister in artibus ac in sacra theologia bacularius*—if this (or much of it according to the date) was the Warden's proper Oxford designation, how was it, if we may ignore the difficulties of the spelling, that at Mayfield he was content to be plain *dominus Johannes Whytecliff* on each occasion? His connexions, too, appear to be south country, and local at that. There is nothing whatever to connect him with Merton College, and the Wyklif, not Whytecliffe, there is claimed as the Reformer by evidence more or less to be received; there is nothing really to connect him with Oxford or with any University, though Islep may have come across him through Merton Priory, on whose title he ordained a certain John Whytecliff, of the diocese of Salisbury, subdeacon in 1356.[1] This, I should think, is the explanation of their connexion, in which event the case is closed. The Warden, on the other hand, came from Yorkshire and proceeded B.D. in 1369 or thereabouts. How could the vicar, without a multitude of suppositions, have done it in the time? Appointed *ex hypothesi* to the wardenship because he was at Mayfield, he was away at time of his appointment and the oath of canonical the obedience had to be reserved.[2] All these are difficulties; with a very well-attested candidate we might pass them over, though the absence of the Master's degree is very serious, as is also the time available for the Bachelor in Divinity's degree; and such again is the break, four years at least, from Oxford, which would put him out of touch with things. For an adventurer without testimonials, whose whole existence depends on character, they are fatal, for no

[1] Islep, Register, fol. 316 *v*. To argue that because Islep and Reade were at Merton, this Wyklif is the vicar of Mayfield, when good evidence says he was the Reformer, will convince only those who are determined to believe it.

[2] Is Shirley (*F.Z.* p. 527) justified in building so much as he does on a signature at Mayfield, Islep's 'favourite place of residence'? The non-attendance of the newly-appointed warden is much more significant as to his identity; if he were the Reformer, it is quite natural; if the vicar, it requires explanation, especially in the depth of winter.

evidence whatever really cogent is advanced to prove that he fits the part.

Islep, however, all the while had to his hand a warden admirably suited to his purpose, John Wycliffe, the Reformer, a Master of Arts and a first-class fighting secular, who was due, like the Warden, to take his Bachelor's degree somewhere about 1369.[1] Like the Warden again, he was a priest of the diocese of York, and, being resident at Oxford in December 1365, might well have desired to postpone the taking of the oath. For years he had been in touch with Oxford and prominent therein ; the only evidence we have denotes him as a fellow of Merton, where, it is alleged, he played a part not unsuited to his character[2] ; he had been

[1] The Warden was certainly not B.D. at the date of his appointment, nor yet in late April 1367 ; he is called B.D. in May 1370 (Viterbo), which means March 1370, if not December 1369, as the latest date possible for the degree (Pratt, *op. cit.* p. 927). The Reformer was not B.D. in April 1368 (Lincoln licence) ; he is described as Master of Theology (Avignon) in December 1373 (the *D.N.B.* article, where such mistakes are far too numerous, has January 1373 for 7 Kal. Jan. 1373) ; December 1370 is therefore the latest date for his baccalaureate (*Mun. Acad.* pp. 388 ff.), various considerations suggesting nine or twelve months earlier. Space forbids me going into details.

[2] The evidence seems good enough. With regard to the cause of Wyklif's disappearance, we know that in 1334 the North and South had fought about the college, the North complaining that their men were badly treated in the matter of elections, and in 1349 there had been a pitched battle between the two nations, ending doubtless in a compromise under external pressure. In 1354–5 was the affair of the arrows. In 1356 John Wyklif was seneschal of the week ; it was hardly an important office, though Lechler makes much of it ; he spent a good deal of college money on entertaining strangers. Nine of the fellows of the previous year, Swyneshed among the number, cannot be traced in 1356, in which year ten new names (*i.e.* names not found in 1355) appear, some, including Wyklif's, to disappear in 1357. Such evidence cannot be conclusive as to what had happened, for documents may be incomplete and so forth, and some names reappear, but Islep visited the college in November 1357 by the instructions of the Pope. Some trouble seems evident, probably with Wyklif as its cause or victim. Had the Reformer been worked into Merton to pacify the Northerners, and had he, then a *borealis militans*, tried to capture Merton for the North ? Such is my suggestion, which I hope elsewhere to follow out, though pending further investigation I do not pledge myself to it.

Master of Balliol, and after perhaps a temporary absence had, we may say, been resident at Queen's from 1363 to 1365.[1] He must certainly have been resident at Oxford from that date onwards until 1372, practically without intermission, for the purposes of his theological course[2]; no other trace of him is to be found except at Canterbury Hall, and his tenure of the wardenship would practically fill the gap until his next appearance at Queen's, which coincides with his removal from Ludgershall to Lutterworth. It covers completely the period after 1365 of enforced and constant residence. In 1368 he obtains a licence for non-residence and exchanges to Ludgershall just when, were he Warden, these would be judicious steps to take. While he was Warden under Islep and under Langham until his appeal to Rome non-residence would be condoned, even expected of him: after his defiance of his visitor and metropolitan, his excuse was gone and he had to put himself in order and safeguard his career, first by applying for a licence, then by an exchange which brought him close to Oxford.[3] A younger Wycliffe, a beginner, perhaps a young kinsman, abandons to all appearance his career at the University just when, owing to the loss of Canterbury Hall and the expenses of inception, the Reformer would have been in difficulties.[4] Benger, Midelworthy, and Selby, *consortes* in

[1] The evidence for the identity of the Reformer and the elder Wycliffe of Queen's appears to me conclusive, especially as the Reformer obtained a licence for non-residence on August 29, 1363 (Buckingham, *Mem.* fol. 7; the *D.N.B.* transfers this reference to the 1368 licence, which is to be found on fol. 56 *v.*). I have to thank Canon C. W. Foster for this information and much else.

[2] For an M.A.—or shall we say a secular?—the theological course lasted nine years and a bit (*Mun. Acad.* pp. 389–391), in the Reformer's case, apparently, all the years 1364–1372, with perhaps a term in 1363 and a term (or two) in 1373. It is impossible to discount the significance of such chronology.

[3] Shirley's argument (*F.Z.*, p. 527) ignores the Warden's ambiguous position after Langham's judgment.

[4] This younger Wycliffe (not *John* Wyclif, as in the *D.N.B.*) was starting Latin, for he was provided with a Latin grammar. He cannot be the Wycliffe of 1363–5 unless the Queen's people 'endowed' him after two years' waste of time; besides, the earlier Wycliffe had a room to himself.

the suit, are known to have been allies of his. As we have seen, a sop from Rome came just when it was wanted,[1] and a final decision on the case synchronises with a new acerbity in the Reformer's attitude towards the ecclesiastical system as a whole and the endowed orders in particular. Which is the greater, the perversity of Islep in overlooking such a champion, or the perversity of things in general which has provided the Warden with so tiresome a double ?

As, then, there is nothing known of the Warden which prevents him being the Reformer, or of the Reformer which prevents him being the Warden, it seems to me impossible to set aside the deliberate testimony of an intimate like Woodford, when we have circumstantial evidence in support of it, so strong as this.

As Shirley's 'Note on the Two John Wyclifs' is so much referred to in this controversy, it is best to point out clearly how much his arguments have been affected by discoveries of fact made since 1858. The *Chronicon Angliae* has been recovered, Woodford is known to be more or less an intimate of Wycliffe's, and the Reformer took his D.D. in 1372 or 1373, and not in 1366. Shirley's best points are gone ; and their loss destroys enormously the force of each of those still left, and even more the cogency of the argument as a whole. As in the text or notes I have noticed most of Shirley's arguments, I need only deal now, and very briefly, with the silence of the chroniclers and Walden. Where the date and interests of the chronicler (see Shirley's note, *F.Z.* p. 524, on Knighton) do not give an explanation of his silence, the discovery of the *Chronicon*

He cannot be the Wycliffe of 1374–5, for besides the room, special arrangements were made for his comfort, far in excess of that allowed to any undergraduate, not a nobleman. These and the full name and title—the *pro camera Magistri Johannis Wiclif* of the *computus* (*F. Z.* p. 515) sounds somewhat pompous—would become the late royal commissioner at Bruges, to whom the college was so glad to offer hospitality. Has the curt *pro pensione Wiclif* of 1381 also a touch of human nature in it ? Twenty shillings was a very great deal to pay for rent.

[1] P. 67 *supra*.

does ; for the charge against Wycliffe stands, two lines or three, in the midst of several pages deliberately cut out by 'Walsingham,' because they were dangerously anti-Gaunt. The charge was thus lost to the 'tradition' with the pages of which it forms a part. On this tradition most chroniclers, Capgrave included, depend. Capgrave is also late ; Knighton is not only late but local. These, for our purpose, I think, complete the list.

Walden wrote a good half-century and more after the event. The Canterbury Hall affair lay in the past ; Walden had no personal interest therein or in the actors in it. Woodford had ; he had known Wycliffe, he must have known Woodhall ; he had been at Oxford most of or all the time, and, I gather from the way he speaks, had heard enough of it. He had been an ally of Wycliffe's, probably, against the *possessionati*. Is it at all unnatural that when he found himself in turn the object of attack he should say in irritation : 'In 1372 it was the monks ; now, in 1381, it is the friars' ? That Walden should make the charge or Woodford repeat his somewhat petulant remark is quite another matter. What, however, after all, in any case, is the argument from silence worth ?

MOUNTED INFANTRY IN MEDIÆVAL WARFARE

By J. E. MORRIS, D.Litt., F.R.Hist.S.

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I HAVE put together here a certain number of facts of some interest. A good deal of my material is already common property, and may be found in the volumes of the Records Commission or in Mr. Joseph Bain's 'Calendar.' Yet some is new, simply because the old manuscript catalogue of the Exchequer Accounts in the P.R.O. was not so good or systematic as the present printed catalogue, and therefore a gleaner in the field traversed by Mr. Bain may yet pick up much. I have already used or referred to some documents, partly in a paper read some years ago to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society,[1] partly in a work on Bannockburn which the Cambridge University Press has just published. I was ambitious to put before this Society some results of my researches, as this is the sixth centenary year of that battle, yet hesitated to offer a paper on the battle itself. But one cannot look at any of the facts without reference to that epoch-making event, and so I tried to find a thread upon which to string them. The most suitable title for my paper seemed to be 'The Development of Mounted Infantry,' because, although some of the documents illustrate the fortunes of an infantry which was very much not mounted, it was just the striving of the English leaders after Bannockburn to find the most suitable type of soldier and the most suitable tactics, a striving necessitated by failure and the terrible experiences of the northern counties at the hands

[1] *Transactions*, New Series, vol. iii.

of the Scottish raiders, that at last produced the finest fighting man of the middle ages, viz. the horse-archer. He is a familiar enough figure in the Hundred Years. From Crecy and Poitiers one traces him back to the first decade of Edward III, and he is found at the siege of Dunbar in 1338. He may have been evolved earlier, but there are no extant rolls to illustrate Halidon Hill. His forerunner, the hobelar, can be traced ; likewise his antipodes, the heavily-armoured foot spearman, whom Edward II fondly imagined to be the ideal soldier capable of turning the fortune of war in favour of England against the nimble Scot.

Modern phrases one cannot avoid using. But one need not think of lifeguards when talking of 'heavy,' or of hussars when talking of 'light' cavalry of the middle ages ; mediæval 'mounted infantry' were not like seventeenth century dragoons, nor were they companies of line battalions put on horseback for special purposes. The mediæval definition of 'heavy' cavalry is that the men, whether the superior knights or the inferior *scutiferi*, rode 'covered' horses—*cum equis coöpertis*—and in the reign of Edward I they were the only English cavalry. In the marshals' registers of feudal service, and in the pay-rolls where we have details of the horsemen in the King's pay, the evidence is very clear, and the *servientes cum equis discoöpertis* were so few as to be negligible. In spite of the experience of the Crusades, the Western nations in the thirteenth century thought that only the armoured man on the armoured horse was needed ; practically all cavalry action was shock action, and the only duty of cavalry was to charge, not to scout. In England the mounted crossbowmen need not be considered ; they were mere mercenaries and banned by Magna Carta ; the few Gascons in Edward I's service were brought over at rare intervals, and then only for a few weeks' service. Now Hemingburgh states that at Falkirk there were 3000 heavy and 4000 light horsemen, and this must be explained, if not at once rejected. I have already suggested in print that, as the value of a

horse ranged from 100 marcs—or even £100 in Edward II's reign—down to 100 shillings, it may well be the case that the proportion of good horses to indifferent rounseys was 3 : 4. But if the cheapest rounsey could carry the weight of an armoured rider as well as its own horse-armour, even though possibly that armour were of boiled leather in place of iron, the man was technically a 'heavy' horseman and entitled to his one shilling a day. Much more wildly wrong is Barbour, who makes a total of 40,000 cavalry at Bannockburn, but says that 3000 only were 'helit' or covered. Such is the first elementary fact of the problem.

The second elementary fact is that there was a need for light cavalry or mounted infantry. Edward I knew well that combination of horse and foot in battle was essential, but the difficult thing was to bring the enemy to accept battle; in the two chief actions in Wales, where he was not present in person, the enemy were forced to fight only because in the one case they were waiting for Llewelyn, and in the other they were surprised by a night march; at Falkirk the Scots stood their ground, as experience had not yet taught them how to foil an invasion by starving the invaders. In all three battles the English horse attacked ahead of the foot, and were repulsed until the archers were brought up. But in Scotland the campaign was more important than the battle, and Bruce's great contribution to military history is that he mounted his men on ponies to avoid battle, to starve out the English, and to retaliate by devastating raids. Who does not know the story of that raid of 1327 so graphically described by Jehan le Bel of Hainault, who himself rode with the heavy English cavalry and tells us how he ached in every limb under his iron armour, while the Scots mocked and easily kept a little distance ahead?[1] Therefore more important than combination of

[1] But almost every writer quotes from Froissart. In several recent books which give *origines* to illustrate English history Froissart's passage is given; yet he simply copied from Jehan le Bel, whose evidence is that of a soldier on actual service.

horse and foot in battle in Anglo-Scottish wars was the discovery of some method to catch the Scots and bring them to battle; this means that light cavalry or mounted infantry had to be evolved.

The true light horsemen, *scutiferi* or *valetti cum equis discoöpertis qui dicuntur hobellarii* or *hoblarii*, came originally from Ireland. I have not found the word used in documents before 1296, when a considerable force was brought over from Ireland to make a diversion against the south-west of Scotland, while Edward's main army invaded from Berwick towards Dunbar. The force was commanded by Sir John Wogan, Justiciar of Ireland, and after all the units were concentrated together its total strength was one earl (Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, who drew 8*s*. a day, the earliest instance that I know of an earl having so high a wage), eight bannerets including Wogan himself, 26 knights, 285 men-at-arms, 260 hobelars, 28 crossbowmen, and 2600 foot. An entry on the roll[1] specially informs us that in Ulster's retinue there were three horses for each knight and man-at-arms, and in Eustace le Poer's retinue even as many as four, and we may assume that each hobelar had only his own hobby or pony, for otherwise we should have had similar information. The pay of the hobelars was 6*d*. a day. They were light lancers, moss-troopers or border prickers, of the type familiar to us from Scott, and ideal scouts in rough country.

Now the derivation of 'hobby,' from which presumably 'hobelar' comes, is not clear. Skeat and Stratmann are against an Irish derivation, and in the 'New English Dictionary' it is merely suggested that the word may be of 'native origin.' But in Jamieson's 'Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language' a certain Maffaeus is quoted as saying that Ireland 'produces excellent horses which the inhabitants call Ubinos or Hobinos.' One need hardly go any further, for the Celtic *obann* means 'quick, nimble,

[1] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{5}{26}$. This roll is calendared by Stevenson, but not by Bain.

sudden.' Beyond doubt Ireland was the original home of the hobelars.

Probably after the campaign of 1296 some Irish hobelars remained behind on either side of the Solway Firth, and then it occurred to somebody to mount and equip Englishmen like them. In 1299 Robert Clifford, commanding in Annandale, requests that the wages be paid of one 'Richard le Bret, an Irish hobolour, retained to spy the passings and haunts of the enemy by night and day, and who has been on duty for six weeks and three days, lest he take himself off for want of sustenance.'[1] In garrison in the pele of Lochmaben, when attacked by the Earl of Carrick, were four men-at-arms, five hobelars, and nine archers.[2] There are other notices of the presence of hobelars in Annandale, and in January 1300 the officials in Ireland were ordered to send over victuals and hobelars.[3] Then in 1301 another considerable force came over, with Sir John Wogan again in command, but without the Earl of Ulster; 7 bannerets, 14 knights, 260 men-at-arms, 390 hobelars, 6 crossbowmen, and 1570 foot. The document[4] is a single membrane with a slip attached; it is not a pay-roll, and does not give the duration of service or any other details than the bare numbers; but it also gives the numbers of the previous force in 1296. In fact it is a memorandum of the Irish contingents on two occasions, and is tolerably good evidence that no Irish were brought over in the intermediate years, *i.e.* that there were none at Falkirk. It is clear from these facts that the hobelars were known to be of value in this district, the Western March, long before the reign of terror began which was the result of Bruce's systematic raids south of the border.

But as yet very few hobelars were raised for border warfare, and when first Bruce raided the defence was entrusted to heavy cavalry. From the Scottish Roll 4 Edw. II we know that Robert Clifford in 1310 was in command

[1] Bain, ii. No. 1084.
[2] *Ibid.* Nos. 1089 and 1115.
[3] *Ibid.* Nos. 1127 and 1128.
[4] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{8}{6}$.

of at least eight bannerets and twenty-six knights who had letters of protection, and this indicates a total force of perhaps as many as 150 heavy cavalry of all ranks. In the autumn of 1311 he had fourteen knights and thirty-six men-at-arms; the horses were registered, and ten knights and ten men-at-arms lost their mounts in a fight at Faringley, which is just across the border in Scotland.[1] At Carlisle there were in garrison in 1311 a very few men-at-arms and hobelars and 100 archers; in 1312, when Andrew de Harcla first took command, 30 men-at-arms were in pay with 12 hobelars and 120 archers.[2] Meanwhile in eight castles and towns in Scotland—Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and Bothwell—there were in pay altogether 730 heavy cavalry, 130 hobelars, 98 crossbowmen, and 124 archers; the figures vary very much from month to month, and these are for August 1311. At Berwick Ralph of Monthermer was in command of two bannerets, 11 knights, 125 men-at-arms, and 50 hobelars; in January 1312 the numbers were two bannerets, five knights, 140 men-at-arms, 73 hobelars; and six months later the men-at-arms were raised to 180, and the hobelars reduced to 48.[3] The yearly cost of these garrisons came to at least £16,500, and to this must be added the cost of maintenance at Carlisle and at least another dozen castles and peles which are known to have been garrisoned in Scotland at one time or another. The drain on the resources of Edward II at this date has not been, perhaps, sufficiently taken into consideration. The facts are of value, as the period was just the eve of Bruce's series of swoops upon the castles.

Andrew of Harcla—or Hartcla or Hertcla, in modern spelling Hartley, for his manor of Harcla, which was confiscated after his execution for treason, was presumably near

[1] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{1}{15}$. (Bain, iii. No. 278).

[2] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{1}{22}$; (Bain, No. 304).

[3] Bain, in an appendix, pp. 393–434, from Cotton MSS., *Vespasian* 116. The figures for Stirling, Perth, and Dundee, are for heavy cavalry only.

Kirkby Stephen, below Stainmoor, in east Westmorland, where 'Hartley Castle' is marked on the Ordnance map—seems to have done most to develop the hobelar system. Robert Clifford[1] having been killed at Bannockburn and his heir being young, not only the defence of the country but also the custody of the castles of the great Vipont barony came upon Andrew; the crown had a right to see to the security of private castles in a time of danger. Thus at the time of his treason he was responsible for the castles and peles of Appleby, Brougham, Pendragon, Naworth, Cockermouth, Egremont, and Highhead, and the united garrisons of these seven came to 34 men-at-arms, 50 hobelars, and 50 foot[2]; this, however, was in 1323, a year of truce, and the numbers would have been much larger in war-time. But Brough, one of the Vipont castles, was held independently by Sir Robert Wells, who contracted with the King to hold it with 15 men-at-arms and 20 hobelars, of whom 10 men-at-arms and 10 hobelars were to be at the King's cost; in the document Wells appears to be the owner of the castle (*à qui le dit chastel est et qui ad la garde du meisme cal*).[3] Meanwhile Sir Andrew had in garrison in Carlisle in the July of 1314 6 knights, 100 men-at-arms, 46 hobelars, and 326 archers; of these, 16 hobelars and 40 archers were Irish. Sallying out, he met and fought some Scots raiders *iuxta le Redecros supra Steynmor*, where he lost 25 horses; and later, in another fight at 'Penresax,' he lost 11 horses. The 'Redecros' lies above the pass which leads north of Stainmoor into Yorkshire; and if 'Penresax,' otherwise unidentified, be Pendragon, it is in the other pass from the upper Eden into Yorkshire south of Stainmoor.

[1] This Clifford was son of Isabella, co-heiress of Robert de Vipont, hereditary sheriff of Westmorland in her father's place, and lady of Appleby and Brougham; her sister Idonea, the other co-heiress, inheriting Brough and Pendragon, married John Cromwell, but he disappeared from Westmorland after her death, and thus later all the Vipont lands and castles came to the Cliffords.

[2] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{1}{9}$ and $\frac{1}{13}$, portions of the same document which have been separated.

[3] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{1}{13}$. The year is 1316.

Each is now traversed by a main line of railway, and thus it would seem that twice Andrew headed off the Scots as they were crossing by a natural valley from Yorkshire into Westmorland. In 1315 he defended Carlisle against Bruce himself, and beat him off, as the Lanercost chronicle tells us. His numbers in this year were 83 heavy cavalry, 45 hobelars, and 395 archers; but these are the figures of two months before the siege.[1] Then the documents fail us. But we know that he was a prisoner of the Scots in 1316, and was released, partly for money, partly in exchange for two Scots whom he had captured.[2] In 1319 he led to the siege of Berwick 360 hobelars and 980 foot archers, and Sir Robert Wells led independently 40 hobelars and 20 archers, Sir Hugh Lowther 25 hobelars and 28 archers, and Sir Anthony Lucy 73 hobelars, and these contingents from Cumberland and Westmorland made up more than one half of the light cavalry and one sixth of the foot of Edward's army. Clearly something was being done in these counties, and Sir Andrew stands out as a military reformer. He is praised by Thomas Gray in the 'Scalacronica' for his feats of arms. Thus it is with some wonder that we find that complaints were in 1319 preferred against him and his brother John; they were accused of favouring rebels and robbers, of failing to support Sir Anthony Lucy, and generally of not defending the border adequately.[3]

This army which laid siege to Berwick—it was the only occasion since Bannockburn when Edward made a serious effort to resume the offensive, for the Scots had captured Berwick in 1318—was composed of 6150 foot, 53 crossbowmen, and 845 hobelars.[4] About 2400 of the foot were

[1] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{1}{3}\frac{4}{1}$ (Bain, No. 403), for 1314; $\frac{1}{3}\frac{4}{2}$ for 1315; $\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{2}$ for 1316. One entry informs us that a few horsemen were paid 8*d.* a day, being *scutiferi ad arma cum sufficientibus armaturis et hakenays*, *i.e.* the man is armoured, but the horse not. They are intermediate between men-at-arms and hobelars.

[2] Bain, No. 515.

[3] See Bain, Nos. 675, 799.

[4] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{7}$. My totals do not quite agree with Mr. Bain's; see No. 668.

Welsh,[1] 1740 were from Yorkshire, 160 from Nottinghamshire, 530 from 'divers counties,' and 1028 from Cumberland and Westmorland under Andrew and his colleagues. If we are to judge from the roll, as the numbers vary from week to week, the loss of life in the assault fell upon Yorkshire and divers counties, for the other contingents hardly lost a man. Besides the 500 hobelars led by Harcla, Wells, Lowther, and Lucy, 36 came from Castle Barnard, 24 from Norham, and 45 from Tynedale; therefore such men were being raised now on the Eastern as well as the Western March. Bruce saved Berwick by making a counter-invasion as far south as York, in which occurred the affair known as 'the chapter of Mytton.'

Yet the marvel is that still heavy cavalry were raised, at least on the Eastern March. In 1315 Aymer of Valence had 69 knights and 219 men-at-arms to defend the border.[2]

[1] In another document, *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{15}{20}$, we have an interesting detail about the North Welsh contingent. They reached Chester 400 strong, *en route* for Newcastle, and there 'eux demorerent par iiij iours par raison du contek (q) feut entre les gentz de la ville et eux en quieu contek furent tuez et naufrez plusurs deux, tant come ie fu a Salopesbire a cheuir deniers, ... et dilloeqs sempartirent a grant peyne qeux ne fuissent retournez a lour pais.' Then the contingent from Clun and Oswestry and Powys were not allowed to march by way of Chester, 'mais por peair (q) la Justice auoit lour menours ne autres ne voleient il lour chemyn prendre par Cestre.' This tussle at Chester between the Welsh soldiers and the townsfolk may be compared with the trouble on the eve of the battle of Falkirk, and if such scenes were common it is easy to understand why the Kings, as soon as ever the north-country English were able to fight their own battles, no longer cared to bring up Welshmen to Scotland. $\frac{15}{25}$ and $\frac{15}{28}$ belong to the same expedition.

[2] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{15}{0}$. This is a horse-list for the months July to October. Not all the 288 men served at the same time. The horses had gone up in value since Edward I's reign; Aymer's own charger was priced at £100, and the cheapest mounts of the men-at-arms at £10. The list may be usefully compared with the number of letters of protection issued to Aymer's followers according to the Scottish Roll of 8 Edw. II. Thus forty-five out of the sixty-nine knights, and sixty-five out of the 219 men-at-arms, had protections. Now, from Scottish Roll 7 Edw. II, I have collected 830 names of men with protections. If, therefore, in 1315 we find protections granted to 109 out of 288 men known to have actually served, the 830 protections of 1314 indicate a total of about 2000 heavy cavalry in all at Bannockburn, or perhaps 2500.

In 1319, after his retreat from Berwick, Edward commissioned Sir John Cromwell and the Earl of Angus to hold the border with 28 knights and 153 men-at-arms of their own retinues, 7 knights and 44 men-at-arms of the royal household, 10 Gascon men-at-arms and 46 mounted crossbowmen; 288 men all told.[1] And we know from Jehan le Bel how this use of heavy cavalry was normal even down to 1327 in spite of bitter experience, except where such sensible men as Andrew of Harcla or Gray of Heton were in command.

In 1322 we have the critical battle of Boroughbridge, which Professor Tout has pointed out as an important link in the chain of battles between Falkirk and Crécy. Harcla came south to fight in his King's cause against Lancaster and Hereford. He dismounted his cavalry, mostly hobelars we may guess, to defend both ford and bridge in solid schiltroms, *more Scotico*, while his archers he posted on the flanks of each schiltrom. Similarly Sir Thomas Gray of Heton made his celebrated sortie from Norham Castle on foot against the Scots cavalry, and then the women of the garrison led out the horses for the pursuit; this was the occasion when Sir William Marmion charged ahead on his warhorse, and wore his gilded helm and crest in honour of his lady, as Norham was the place of danger where some great feat of arms could be done. The castle was often attacked, but Gray's son, in the 'Scalacronica,' does not give us the date of this particular exploit. We have the direct evidence of the elder Gray that 100 Scottish men-at arms and 100 hobelars were encamped to besiege it in the September of 1322; that was the same month when Edward, not satisfied that the Bishop of Durham and his

1 *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{6}$. This is a contract, not a horse-list. Except Cromwell's own comitiva, the household, and the Gascons *par reson de lour lounteine*, the men-at-arms were only paid 8*d.* a day. From the same document we learn that the King paid for fifteen men-at-arms at Bamborough, twenty men-at-arms and twenty hobelars at Alnwick, eight men-at-arms and eight hobelars at Warkworth—all these in excess of the regular garrison in each castle, and this shows that the King saw the necessity of helping the private owners of castles.

brother, Henry Beaumont, were taking proper steps to defend it, made Gray enter into a contract to maintain 20 men-at-arms and 50 hobelars at the royal wages over and above the bishop's men in garrison. Gray, most probably, was constable for the bishop before 1322, for he was connected with the Beaumonts and rode in Henry Beaumont's retinue to Bannockburn, but from this September he was as constable responsible for Norham to the King. Therefore the date of his sortie with Marmion remains unknown.[1]

Harcla's victory over Lancaster and Hereford at Boroughbridge was on March 15, and on March 25, as soon as ever Edward knew that the two rebels were crushed, he decided to invade Scotland to avenge Bannockburn. He committed his crowning folly. That some reform was needed after Bannockburn no one would dispute; likewise that that reform should have been in the direction of a considered plan of combination for mutual support of horse and foot. But Edward could see nothing beyond the fact that horse had been routed at Bannockburn, and 'preferred infantry' for the coming campaign. He was quite ignorant of the importance of rapid movement before battle, and thought only of action in battle. So he sent writs all over England to summon from every county armoured foot, *pedites armati*, and even the phrase *homines pedites ad arma* was used. For this is the second point; he called for heavy foot spearmen, not archers. Now this was not entirely new; in June 1310 he had summoned from Wales *homines pedites ad arma*; in May 1311 he had demanded *unum hominem fortem et defensabilem ac armis competentibus bene munitum* from every village or township in England; not only were *electores* and *ductores* nominated for each county, but in the Exchequer Memoranda of 4 Edw. II we find small sums of money allocated for the preliminary

[1] Bain, Nos. 770, 772, 777, 783. *Parliamentary Writs*, ii. 604. The siege of Norham was proceeding on September 20, 1322, *diversis ingeniis et machinis*, and in the *Scalacronica* the Scots who wounded Marmion made a surprise attack.

expenses of the levy. The writs were indeed cancelled. But it is clear that the idea of collecting heavily-armoured infantry from every county had occurred to Edward before Bannockburn. *Arma* in this connexion means defensive armour, for in one passage we read *sagittariis et aliis hominibus sine armis.*

On March 25, 1322, Edward summoned at his wages no less than 39,000 English foot, a proportion to be *armati cum aketonis bacinettis et cirotecis ferreis*, and the residue to be *armis competentibus muniti*, 6,000 Welsh foot, and 6,000 Irish foot, with 1,000 hobelars.[1] The demands were afterwards modified. In May it was given out that Parliament had sanctioned the levy of one man from each *villa, civitatibus et burgis exceptis*, and this was to be at the cost of the county. But if the cities and boroughs did not pay an aid they were to supply *armati* at their own cost: Winchester, for instance, fifty, Salisbury and Coventry and Northampton forty each, Exeter twenty-six, Oxford twenty-five, and so on. Finally 10,000 men were demanded, to take the King's wages, from twenty-three counties, over and above the one from each villa. A special corps of 300 archers was to come from Kent and Sussex, and this is the solitary mention of archers in this year. Reference is made to the Statute of Winchester, and all men between sixteen and sixty are to be arrayed in the northern counties. The Yorkshiremen are to be ready *de die in diem*, and compulsion is authorised. Northumberland and the bishopric of Durham are not called upon, and Harcla was specially commissioned to array all the men of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire for the defence of the border only.

But these writs, of which there are many printed pages, are of little value in comparison with the pay-rolls. Most fortunately we have full means to calculate the exact numbers of the foot of the army, though one feels annoyance that these rolls should have been preserved and not

[1] These writs are all in the printed *Rotuli Scotiæ* and in *Parliamentary Writs*, ii. 558 onwards.

those of the Bannockburn year. They are numbered in the Exchequer Accounts $\frac{16}{4.10.11.12.14.15.16.17}$, but only one has been calendared by Mr. Bain. At the end of July and early in August there assembled at Newcastle 4439 English foot from twenty counties, 6460 Welsh foot, with 376 English, 10 Welsh, and 139 Irish hobelars, and 25 Irish men-at-arms.[1] Some few of the men were fully *armati* and had 4*d.* a day; some contingents, those of Norfolk and Suffolk, and some of the men of Cheshire, were *di-armati* at 3*d.*; Kent and Sussex supplied 186 *sagittarii electi* out of the 300 summoned; but quite the majority of the men were *non armati*, and how many of these were archers there is nothing to tell us. Of the cities only Salisbury is represented by ten men and Derby by twenty. A separate slip of parchment gives details of the Norfolk contingent under Sir John Howard; the men were all half-armoured, and none were bow-armed; they left home 454 strong and mustered 435 at the rendezvous, but evidently were reinforced later, for by the time they had reached Leith their number was up to 485. On August 5 the King was complaining that some of the men had already deserted;[2] and the pay-roll shows that he had right to complain, for the Wiltshire contingent dropped from 400 to 280 men within a fortnight, the Kent and Sussex archers from 186 to 147, the Notts men from 169 to 130. One small Irish corps reached Newcastle, as already mentioned; another corps set sail on August 18, consisting of 4 bannerets, 6 knights, 63 men-at-arms, 189 hobelars, and 93 foot, and was in the King's pay up to November, but cannot have been in time to take part in the invasion of Scotland.[3]

The only document of this series which has been

[1] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{16}{14}$.

[2] *Parliamentary Writs*, p. 602: 'receptis vadiis nostris se ab obsequio nostro sine licencia nostra elongarunt.'

[3] This fact is worth consideration, for some writers argue that large numbers of Irish swelled the English army at Bannockburn; here, in 1322, we see thousands summoned, very few hundreds serving.

calendared by Mr. Bain is a slip giving sums of money and measures of flour served out to the men when they had reached Leith. It mentions the English contingents only, and adds a good deal to our knowledge. The date is August 23. Thirty-three counties are now represented, and several contingents are stronger than they were at Newcastle, perhaps because the deserters had been caught. Norfolk has now 485 men, Wiltshire 304, Yorkshire 912, Lincolnshire 450. Some cities also are represented, London with Middlesex supplying 161, York 60, Exeter 26, Oxford 25, Canterbury 20, Rochester 9, and these are the exact numbers originally demanded ; Salisbury has now produced the extra thirty men that were missing at Newcastle. Buckingham, Cambridge, Ely, Derby, and doubtless other towns, have sent men, but they are merged in the full contingents of their respective counties. The total, which I make to differ slightly from Mr. Bain's figures, comes to 7053 men.[1] If some reasonable proportion of the Welsh be added we have a force of infantry, of more than average strength for that day, close on 14,000 in all.

A great many barons and knights had contracts with the King this year, but, as 15 Edward II covers from the summer of 1321 to the summer of 1322, it is impossible to calculate whether they contracted to serve him against Lancaster and Hereford or against the Scots. Scattered in the Pipe Rolls of Edward III are accounts of money paid for service under Edward II ; for instance, Lord William de Ros of Hamlake had out 100 men-at-arms of all ranks and sixty hobelars for exactly one month, February 25 to March 25, *quo die recessit, i.e.* the very month of the crisis of the rebellion in which the battle of Boroughbridge was fought. Therefore it seems that the contracts were not made for the war against Scotland.

To describe the feeble invasion, the weariness and starvation of the 'infantry preferred' whom Bruce saw no need to fight in pitched battle, the return, and the

[1] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{16}{11}$. Bain, No. 765, and Introduction, p. xxix.

counter-invasion into Yorkshire, where Edward was nearly taken, would be out of place. The interest comes from the fact that the raising of foot from the whole of England was an experiment, and the figures that I have offered show how far the experiment was successful as regards numbers. The men cannot but have been an untrained mob, and their fighting power contemptible. But the first occasion[1] when all England except the border counties sent men is a sort of prelude to the many occasions during the Hundred Years when the machinery for enlisting and equipping the contingents was in existence, for from various entries in the French Rolls I take it that the county authorities, when ordered to produce so many hundreds of archers, knew where to find them on some system. But of course the other experiment of the year, the attempt to pit against the Scots armoured foot spearmen, was not repeated by Edward III. It was not even repeated by Edward II himself. I have a few scattered instances from the Pipe Rolls of Edward III of troops raised in the autumn of 1326. Sir John Howard, under the command of Thomas of Brotherton, raised in Norfolk and Suffolk, to go to the mouth of the Orwell to resist certain rebels and enemies landing there, 4 knights, 23 men-at-arms, and 30 hobelars; thence they marched to Gloucester and remained there for most of October and November. In Oxfordshire were raised, and led to the King *pro defensione regni*, 11 men-at-arms, 21 hobelars, and 350 foot *tam sagittarii quam pedites*; and, from an unnamed county, 5 men-at-arms, 16 hobelars, 46 *pedites armati* at 3*d.* a day, and 34 *non armati* at 2*d.* Therefore heavy infantry had dropped out of favour.

Better days for England dawned in 1333. Baker of Swinbroke seems to be right when he wrote of Halidon Hill

[1] Mr. W. M. Mackenzie denies that this was the first occasion. But the men of the 'divers counties' in previous armies were very few, and 'divers' does not mean 'all.' Edward I once summoned thousands of foot from all the counties for a French war; but clearly he only meant to indicate the number liable to be called out. The statement is absolutely true that 1322 is the first year of a levy from all England.

that there the chivalry of England learnt to dismount to fight. The battles of Boroughbridge and Dupplin Moor were earlier, and Harcla had first set the example. But at Boroughbridge it was comparatively easy to block the exits from bridge and ford with dismounted horsemen and to post the archers on the flanks, and at Dupplin Moor there were only 1500 English in arms, according to the chronicler's figures, forming a centre of dismounted lancers and two archer wings. At Halidon Hill, the King was present in person with a large number of barons, as we see by the list of those who signed the treaty for the surrender of Berwick; and he had an army large enough to be divided into three brigades in the fighting line and a reserve, besides the men besieging Berwick. We have another fact, which is absent from Boroughbridge and Dupplin Moor, and which gives to the new tactics their value, namely that horse and foot are now for the first time brigaded together; in action each brigade has dismounted knights and men-at-arms in the background and two sloping wings of archers; now put three such brigades into line, and at once are formed the *herses* or hollow wedges which link one brigade to another. Halidon Hill is the first battle in which the great men fight on foot, and is the first in which the hollow wedge of archers appears. I can offer no figures as to the strength of the army. From the Scottish Roll 7 Edward III can be collected the names of many who had letters of protection for the war. Thomas of Brotherton, then Earl of Norfolk and Marshal, had with him at least 12 knights and 21 men-at-arms, and this implies a troop of at least sixty horse in all if to each knight be added a full complement; Ralph Basset, banneret, had 4 knights and 21 men-at-arms; and so on. Foot were summoned from the counties which usually provided foot before the experiment of 1322, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Gloucestershire, but not Cheshire or Lincolnshire; the bishopric and the border counties were expected at this date simply to defend

themselves. Writs were sent to Wales, but were cancelled; therefore the statement of Capgrave, who wrote a century later, seems to be quite right; 'In this batayle wonne the archeres of Ynglond a perpetual laude.'[1] The fact indeed is clear, and the period has now begun when the best and most numerous of the 'English' archers are no longer, as at Falkirk, Welshmen. Moreover, the proportion of archer to non-archer foot is now very high. From Lancashire were summoned 1200 archers and 200 hobelars; from Derbyshire 500 archers and 200 hobelars; from Nottinghamshire 500 archers and 200 hobelars; from Warwickshire and Leicestershire 1000 and from Gloucestershire 300 foot, of whom the greater part were to be archers; 1000 from Shropshire and Staffordshire, and 5510 foot *tam sagittarii quam alii* and 1080 hobelars from Yorkshire. But writs of summons are unsatisfactory as evidence of numbers, and one is weary of trying to calculate from such means how many men served at Falkirk or Bannockburn or Halidon Hill. As early as April Edward III was complaining of delay. In June, a month before the battle, he blamed the arrayers for sending *debiles corpore et insufficientes ad pugnandum, omissis fortibus et validis pro pecunia ab eis extorta*. After the battle a very large number of men, both knights and others, received the King's pardon for various specified offences: for instance, one man who had committed highway robbery on a monk in Sherwood Forest; others were pardoned in vague terms. These men, the Feebles and Shadows who had been impressed into the ranks in place of Mouldy and Bullcalf, plus the murderers and robbers and poachers, won the victory to their perpetual laud.

But in 1333 the horse-archer has not yet appeared. We have to wait four more years for him. At the end of 1337 William Montague, newly created Earl of Salisbury, raised an army. We have exact details of his force, and in it all the English archers are horse-archers and the only

[1] Rolls Series, p. 202.

foot are Welsh.[1] Three earls at a fee of 8*s.* a day, the other two being Hugh Audley, Earl of Gloucester, and Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel, seven bannerets, 60 knights, 450 men-at-arms, 1970 horse-archers with their officers, and 466 Welsh foot were mustered at Newcastle in December and January. The horse-archers were drawn from 21 counties, Lancashire, Yorkshire, the Midlands, the Thames Valley, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, but from no other county of the south coast and no county on the Welsh border except Gloucestershire. The siege of Dunbar began early in 1338. A very large number of workmen were drawing wages from March to June. A chief engineer, John of Brabant, drew 4*s.* a day, and three other engineers 1*s.* each, and we read in the roll of ' sows ' and other machines which had been put together or repaired at Newcastle and Berwick, and of stones and gorse and sand brought to fill up the castle ditch for an assault in May.

But meanwhile the numbers of the army fell off, and Salisbury had with him in March 490 heavy cavalry of all ranks, 1040 horse-archers, and 260 Welsh foot ; in June, when the siege was raised, he had 487 heavy cavalry, 710 horse-archers, and 160 Welsh. I take it that the difference between the January figures at Newcastle and those of March at Dunbar indicates that a proportion of the men were dismissed, as a very large army was not required for the siege, both castle and port being small ; and the difference of the figures between March and June indicates the losses during the siege. The pay of the horse-archer was 4*d.* a day for each man and 6*d.* for each vintenar, but Salisbury had a body of thirty in his personal retinue at 6*d.* each *quia electi.*

We must not jump to the conclusion that henceforward all the archers were always mounted. For instance this

[1] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{20}{22}$. Also £500 was paid to Edward Balliol, Arundel, Percy, Neville, and Beaumont, and if the whole sum was for the wages of men-at-arms it would have maintained 100 knights and men-at-arms for about two months. The county horse-archers were 1874, and the extra hundred were in the retinues of lords.

same year 1338 Edward III[1] was going in person to Flanders, and there were mustered at Norwich to go with him 1140 foot-archers from fifteen Midland counties, Shropshire included, but Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire excluded, and from Lincolnshire and Somerset and Dorset. The shipping seems to have been insufficient, and therefore he dismissed a few men and took over 964 only. They were paid the *2d.* a day which had been normal since Edward I's reign. There were also mustered here eighty-four horse-archers, sixty of them in the retinue of Henry, Earl of Derby, and twenty-four in that of John Segrave, all at the higher wage of *6d.*

As the question of the provenance of the archers is of some importance, I offer the following table. It gives some idea of the need of bringing soldiers from other parts of England to the border, also of raising the contingents for foreign service as much as possible from the midlands. Just as the raiding Scots exhausted the northern counties so that the men were wanted for defence and could not be called upon to bear the burden of offence, so the counties of the south coast had to defend themselves against the Normans ; indeed, a primary cause of the French war was the defence of the coast, and the bitter devastation of Normandy in 1346 was the result.

The next step is that the princes, earls, barons, and bannerets, who raised heavy cavalry by contract with the King, began to add to them horse-archers in equal numbers. Then wages went up fifty per cent., *6d.* being given to the horse-archer, *3d.* to his comrade on foot. I have not yet satisfied myself when first this increase became general.[2] In 1346 the men abroad had the higher rate of pay, the men at home the previous rate ; in fact the increase seems to arise from the commercial necessity of paying men highly for foreign service rather than from a generous feeling that, as they had now justified themselves as the best soldiers of the

[1] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{2}{21}$.

[2] See above ; a few horse-archers in retinues had the higher pay in 1338.

Comparative Table of County Levies

	1322 [1] Foot, mostly *di-armati* and *non-armati*		1337–8 [2] Horse-archers for siege of Dunbar		1338 [3] Foot-archers, mustered and taken to Flanders	
	July	August	Dec.	March	June	July
Yorks.	390	972	409	236		
Lancs.			212	177	4	4
Cheshire	541					
Salop		190			97	80
Staffs.		175			109	106
Derby	80	140	100	55		
Notts.	169	120	100	45		
Lincs.	140	450	121	56	120	98
Rutland		33	40	16		
Northants	440	247	140	55	90	78
Leics.	195	106	60	40	60	60
Warws.	159	150	59	40	60	60
Worcs.		90			60	60
Herefs.		100				
Gloucs.	111	176	99	59		
Oxfords.	125	185	60	26	40	36
Berks.		152			40	26
Bucks.		169				
Beds.		124	78	31	51	40
Surrey		119			60	56
Hunts.	105	79	125	56	40	30
Cambs.	168	143			40	30
Herts.	114	115			40	36
Middles.		161			20	12
Norfolk	435	485	114	35		
Suffolk	240	324				
Essex	140	326				
Kent	300	269	96	46		
Sussex [4]	186	175				
Hants		229				
Wilts	401	344	61	35	74	70
Dorset		137			50	60
Somerset		180			80	60
Devon		222				
Cornwall		166				

[1] The July figures are from *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{10}{14}$; those of August from $\frac{16}{11}$.

[2] *Ibid.* $\frac{20}{25}$. [3] *Ibid.* $\frac{21}{21}$.

[4] The 300 are from Kent; the 186 are the elect archers of Kent and Sussex.

age, they should be duly rewarded. Sir Thomas Dagworth contracted to serve in Brittany with 200 men of his personal retinue, viz. 14 knights, 65 men-at-arms, and 120 horse-archers at the rate of 6*d.* a day, plus 300 extra men-at-arms and 600 horse-archers at a lump sum of £2880 for three months. He was to receive compensation at the rate of £10 for the horse of each man-at-arms lost on service, and £1 for each archer's hackney; this latter entry indeed is cancelled, but it gives the requisite information that the average price of an archer's hackney in 1346 was £1.[1]

There is no new evidence that I know of about Crécy and Calais. It is a fact of common notoriety that the great men had retinues of men-at-arms and horse-archers in equal numbers. In the last month of the great siege, in anticipation of a French attack from the outside, when Edward made an effort to obtain large reinforcements, 5000 men-at-arms of all ranks and 5000 horse-archers were in camp, with 15,000 foot-archers, presumably of the county levies, and 600 hobelars; foreign mercenaries and Welsh non-archer foot at the rate of 2*d.* a day brought the gross total up to 32,000 men. Sir James Ramsay has stated that this figure represents the total of all who served from the first landing in Normandy down to the fall of Calais. It is difficult to argue, for we have only transcripts of a document which has disappeared. But in no extant document is such a gross total given, so that a guess in this particular case has no warrant. Various clues, such as the issue of protections to certain lords and their followers found in the French Roll, men who were still in England in May or June, but whose names appear in the transcripts of the muster-roll, indicate that we have in the figures the total of the men encamped before Calais, after special efforts had been made to bring over large reinforcements from England, in July 1347. Out of the retinues present at this date before Calais let us pick those of the lords who are known to have been previously at Crécy, and let us assume that they had

[1] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{25}{15}$.

received reinforcements since the battle sufficient to make good the losses of the campaign and battle, then about 2500 represents the heavy cavalry at Crécy, and therefore about 2500 the horse-archers. When I worked some years ago at General Wriottesley's ' Crécy and Calais,' picking out the name of every lord and knight who had a protection or was otherwise known to have sailed to Normandy, I found a total of 500 ; adding 100 for possible omissions and multiplying to allow for three men-at-arms to each knight, I got nearly the same result. A roll of names of the garrison of Calais in 1356 gives us what was possibly its average strength during the English occupation, at least at this period. Sir Roger Beauchamp, captain, was in command of ten knights, 37 men-at-arms, 10 hobelars, 140 horse-archers, and 280 foot-archers ; at Guines were one knight, 43 men-at-arms, 20 hobelars, 10 horse-archers, and 50 foot-archers ; and there were a few more men in smaller forts in the neighbourhood.[1] The continued existence of the hobelar indeed surprises me, for in England the horse-archer has by this date quite supplanted him.

I come now to my latest find, and feel doubtful in my own mind whether to feel pleasure or to be angry about it ; the roll is valuable, certainly, but it is in its right place and is duly catalogued ; in fact neither myself nor anybody else had ever looked for it. The roll gives the accounts of John Woodhouse [2] on the Scottish border from the middle of the nineteenth to the twenty-first year of Edward III. From it we learn that in August and September 1346 the Scots raided towards Carlisle, and, besides whatever local levies were raised, a force of 6 knights, 54 men-at-arms, and 127 horse-archers were sent across *de gentibus extraneis* ; this or some similar phrase occurs elsewhere in the roll, and simply indicates men from other counties of England distant from the border. We have already had evidence that the Cumbrians and Northumbrians, also the men of the bishopric, were expected to defend themselves only, and not to raise

[1] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{27}{6}$.

[2] *Exchequer Accounts*, $\frac{25}{10}$.

men for offensive war in Scotland; here we see them, it is clear, serving in defence without pay, while the few men from distant counties brought up to help them are paid and styled 'strangers.' But a larger force was coming up. In Lancashire were quickly raised 4 knights, 60 men-at-arms, 960 horse-archers, and 240 foot-archers, who were paid for eight days by their own county, and then took the King's pay for five days, viz. October 13 to 17.[1] The battle of Neville's Cross was fought on October 17. Yorkshire sent 15 men-at-arms, 29 hobelars, and 3020 horse-archers, who received eight days' pay from their own county and the King's pay October 12 to 16; but I take it that, their service ending on October 16, they were just one day too late for the battle. That men could be found, concentrated, brought over the Pennines from Lancashire to Durham, and then win a victory, all within the space of thirteen days, is a proof that there had been an awakening since 1327. And, reading between the lines of the document, we can picture the mortification of the Yorkshiremen that they had not hurried up quite fast enough to share in the glory. The campaign cost the King £307; surely it was the shortest and cheapest on record. The horse-archers were paid 4*d.* a day, and it cannot be said that their services were very magnificently rewarded.

Of course it is not be argued that these 1264 Lancastrians alone won the battle. The unpaid levies of Cumberland and Westmorland, Northumberland and Durham, have to be added; also the north-country lords would have

[1] A study of the Latin of the roll, given later on, shows that 3 knights, 42 men-at-arms, 640 horse-archers, and 240 foot-archers were paid October 13 to 17 inclusive, and one knight, 18 men-at-arms, and 320 horse-archers for only four of the five days. Possibly, therefore, these last were not up for the battle, just as, I take it, was the case of the Yorkshiremen. But they seem to have been all led *usque bellum iuxta Dunolm*, whereas the Yorkshiremen were led *pro bello predicto*. I should say that the smaller Lancastrian contingent was up a day sooner than the larger, and that the four days were October 14 to 17; perhaps the 240 foot-archers impeded the others.

I find now that I have given the figures wrong in my *Bannockburn*, p. 102, the Yorkshiremen being entered there as 3200 in place of 3020.

brought up their personal retinues. Next year arrangements were made to put into the field, to take the offensive in Scotland, 480 men-at-arms and 480 horse-archers; their names are in the Scottish Roll for 1347, and they were Edward Balliol, titular King of Scotland, at a special fee of 16*s.* a day; the Earl of Angus at 6*s.* 8*d.*; Lords Henry Percy and Ralph Neville, who had commanded at Neville's Cross; Lord Mowbray, Thomas Lucy, Thomas of Rokeby, John of Stirling, Robert Bertram, Heron, Dacre, John Coupland, warden of Roxburgh, and Thomas Musgrave, warden of Berwick. Woodhouse's roll tells us that they served for one month, eleven lords and bannerets, 78 knights, 414 men-at-arms, and 464 horse-archers of their retinues, together with 1986 horse-archers and 120 foot-archers *partium extranearum* or *longinquarum*; of the horse-archers the only recorded detail is that 46 came from Salop. Therefore at least 500 heavy cavalry and 500 mounted infantry must be added for the Neville's Cross army, perhaps more; but it seems likely that men could be raised locally with greater ease for a raid over the border than for defence, for when raiding Scots were on English soil the primary instinct was to defend one's own homestead rather than to concentrate and leave family and property defenceless. However that may be, we are still considerably short of the 900 men-at-arms and 9000 archers that the 'Chronicon de Melsa' considers to have been present at Neville's Cross.

The main fact is quite clear. Mustering quickly and moving quickly, the horse-archers brought the Scots to action, unlike the heavy cavalry of 1327, who were only ridiculous. Then in action, dismounted and shooting from their hollow wedges, backed by similarly dismounted knights and men-at-arms, they made victory sure because they had a fine missile weapon. The long bow made all the difference between them and the mounted Scots, also between them and the English and Irish hobelars of what may be called the intermediate period. The light lancer or moss-trooper was a good man, but the mounted archer was a better.

Some of the other details of the roll are of interest. Four of the Lancashire leaders and their men were justly rewarded by an extra gift of money for their good turn-out. Robert Bertram took prisoner William Douglas, and was given the task of taking him to the Tower with the Earls of Fife and Menteith. John Coupland was entrusted with the custody of David Bruce, 'the self-styled King of Scotland,' but not a hint is given that he was the captor. Indeed, as David was so badly wounded that two barbers-doctors of York had to be brought up to Bamburgh Castle to extract the arrow and heal the prisoner, the story of Coupland's desperate struggle and capture has the appearance of being an afterthought.

The following are the relevant portions of Woodhouse's roll :—

Item in vadiis lxiiij hominum ad arma quorum iiij milites, unde iij milites xlij homines ad arma, dcxl sagittarii equites et ccxl sagittarii pedites, per v. dies a xiij die Octobris dicto anno xx° usque xvij diem eiusdem mensis proxime sequentem utroque die computato, et unus miles xviij homines ad arma et cccxx sagittarii equites per iiij dies infra tempus predictum, de comitatu Lancastrie conductorum usque bellum iuxta Dunolm' post vadia sua viij dierum que capiebant de patria transacta ad proficiscendum in comitiva predictorum archiepiscopi Henrici et Radulfi et aliorum magnatum bello predicto contra Scotos inimicos Regis, quolibet milite capiente ij s, homine ad arma xij d, sagittario equite iiij d, et sagittario pedite ij d per diem, per literam predictorum archiepiscopi Henrici et Radulfi, prout patet per capita hominum predictorum contenta in vij indenturis factis inter Johannem de Leiburn constabularium belli predicti et dictum Johannem de Wodehous————c li xiii s. iiij d.

Item in vadiis xv hominum ad arma ductorum, xxix hobelariorum, et M.M.M.xx sagittariorum equitum per iiij dies a xij die Octobris dicto anno xx° usque xvj diem eiusdem mensis proxime sequentem de comitatu Ebor', conductorum pro bello predicto, post vadia sua viij dierum que capiebant de patria transacta (etc., as above)————ccvij li iiij s. viijd.

Item Johanni de Haverington, A de Hoghton, Willelmo de la Legh, Nichole Boteler, et hominibus secum venientibus de

dicto comitatu Lancastrie pro bello predicto pro bono apportu suo ultra vadia sua predicta de dono Regis per literam dictorum Archiepiscopi Henrici et Radulfi————xx li.

Item Roberto Bertram et Thome de Rokeby le cosyn pro expensis suis de Bothale in comitatu Northumbrie usque Turrim London', ducentibus comites de ffife et Meneteth et Willelmum de Douglas et alios in custodia sua existentes, pro se et hominibus suis in eundo, ibidem morando, et redeundo per literam Leonelli custodis Anglie et duorum predictorum, ad acquietanciam ipsorum Roberti et Thome————xl li.

Item eidem Roberto Bertram pro deliberatione filii Eustachii Loreigne unius custodum castri de Rokesburgh, nomine Willelmi Dougles, nuper in bello apud Dunolm' per ipsum Robertum de guerra capti, per breve Regis et acquietanciam ipsius Roberti————xl li.

Item Johanni de Coupeland pro expensis et custibus quos posuit circa custodiam Dauid de Brus qui se dicit Regem Scotie, nuper capti apud bellum predictum, pro toto tempore quo in custodia ipsius Johannis extitit apud Werk super Twedam per literam Leonelli custodis Anglie et acquietanciam ipsius Johannis ————xx li.

Item Magistris Willelmo de Bolton et Hugoni de Kilvington Barbers de Ebor', medicis, euntibus de Ebor' usque castrum de Baumburgh in comitatu Northumbrie pro sanatione dicti Dauid de Brus qui iacuit ibidem sagitta vulneratus ad bellum predictum ad dictam sagittam extrahendam, et ipsum Dauid in festinatione sanandum, pro expensis suis in eundo, ibidem morando, et redeundo, per literam Leonelli custodis Anglie et acquietanciam ipsorum Willelmi et Hugonis————vi li.

PRÉGENT DE BIDOUX'S RAID IN SUSSEX IN 1514 AND THE COTTON MS. *AUGUSTUS I* (*i*), 18

By ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.Hist.S.

Read June 18, 1914

THE late Dr. James Gairdner read a paper before the Royal Historical Society on November 15, 1906, upon a sixteenth-century drawing in the Cotton collection which depicts the burning of the town of Brighthelmstone in the reign of King Henry VIII. It will be remembered that Dr. Gairdner came to the conclusions that the accepted accounts were not reliable ; that the raid depicted really took place in the spring of 1514 and not in the summer of 1545 ; and that the French did not burn the town on the latter occasion.

In addition to the obvious discrepancies in the narratives of the chroniclers, Dr. Gairdner advanced two chief reasons for coming to these conclusions. One of the reasons is provided by the incongruity of the different hands which appear on the Cotton drawing. The other depends upon the belief that Brighton possessed a harbour in 1545, and upon the fact that no harbour is shown in the drawing erroneously assigned to that year.

With regard to the first reason, Dr. Gairdner's qualification for adjudicating upon the date of various types of handwriting in Tudor times is unquestionable, and he was so much impressed by the long interval of time indicated between the early handwriting of the Brighthelmstone plat, as a whole, and the later handwriting of the date in the upper left-hand corner of it, that he did not hesitate to characterise that date as ' false.'

With regard to the harbour—which, if it existed, certainly ought to have been delineated upon a town plat of 1545—Dr. Gairdner attributed undue importance, I believe, to the report of Andrew Boarde, who compiled and published a perambulation of England in 1542. Dr. Boarde was a native of Sussex, and he enumerated Brighthelmstone among the harbours of England. But he did not include Shoreham Harbour, and I suggest that the importance of his testimony is diminished by that omission. He may have given Brighthelmstone in place of Shoreham. The documents cited by Dr. Gairdner, with respect to the vessels of forty tons' burthen and the pirates of Brighton, are not sufficient to warrant the presumption that Brighton had a harbour in the middle of the sixteenth century. Apart from this question, I believe that Dr. Gairdner advanced insuperable objections to the views entertained in Sussex and elsewhere about the date of the raid depicted upon the Cotton plat.

The strongest piece of evidence that he was right, moreover, is conveyed by the drawing itself. It is a curious fact that all chroniclers, modern investigators, and catalogue-makers who have had occasion to deal with the Cotton drawing have misread the date—even as Dr. Gairdner misread it. The Cotton roll bears the press-mark *Augustus I, vol. i.* It comprises a number of sixteenth-century maps, charts, plans of forts and harbours, and 'plats' (as they were called) of towns. Document No. 18 in this gathering is described in the Cotton Catalogue as 'A Chart of Brighthelmstone and the country round it, with several French galleys in the road from which troops are [being] landed; dated July, 1545.' Here the name of the month is spelt as we spell it. But in Sir Henry Ellis's account of the document in 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxiv., p. 297 (1832), the name of the month is spelt 'Julye.' I refer to this because it indicates one of the methods adopted in order to evade a recognised difficulty. On the original drawing and also on the reproduction thereof which forms the frontispiece of Vol. I of the Third Series of the 'Royal

Historical Society's Transactions,' the month appears as 'Julyi.' The final letter is supposed to represent *e*, as in 'Julye,' and that might be regarded as a contemporaneous spelling of the name of the month.

All this is erroneous, however; and not only must the *i* stand, but something else which gives that letter an unsuspected value must be taken into account. It was a scribal custom of some centuries' standing to set a point before roman letters, as well as after them, when they were used as numerals, and the final letter of the word, misread *Julyi*, has a point before and a point after it. Consequently, 'i' represents *primus*. The point may not be very distinct, but it is there upon the original sheet, and it can also be detected upon our facsimile. The date, therefore, of the Cotton plat is 'July 1, 37 Hen. viij,' *i.e.* July the first, 1545. Now the attack threatened by Admiral D'Annebault in 1545 was not delivered till after July 16. Consequently, a drawing dated on the previous July 1 cannot relate to the circumstances of that attack.

It was believed by Dr. Gairdner that the Elizabethan reports of the raid into Sussex and the burning of Brighton in 1545 were based upon the Cotton drawing itself. The deciphering of the date of the drawing justifies Dr. Gairdner's views once again; although, as I have said, he was in error in supposing that the date was false. The drawing must have been in existence quite two weeks at least before the events it has been supposed to record could have taken place. Our task, then, is to discover what it is that the date actually refers to.

In the year 1539, King Henry appointed a number of commissioners to search and defend the southern coast-line. Among these were the Lord High Admiral; William Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel, and his son Henry, Lord Maltravers; Lord Delawarr, Lord Dacre, Sir John Gage, and Sir Richard Shirley (cp. 'Letters and Papers,' Henry VIII, xiv, pt. 1, p. 398.) The gentlemen of Sussex were well represented, and some of the commissioners for that county were members of

the Privy Council in 1544—five years later. In the summer of that year, Henry invaded France as ally of the Emperor Charles V, and besieged Boulogne. That city surrendered to him on September 14, and on September 19 the Emperor broke faith with him, and concluded a separate peace with their common enemy, King Francis I. Henry placed a garrison in Boulogne, and on September 30 returned to England with the bulk of his army. The French spent some time in unsuccessful attempts to recover Boulogne, and they collected a large and formidable fleet at Havre de Grâce. By the end of June 1545, their preparations for the descent upon England were matured. On July 1, the date of the Cotton drawing, the King held a Privy Council at Greenwich, and a few days later proceeded to Southampton. Three Sussex magnates were members of the Privy Council at the time—namely, Lord Arundel, Sir Anthony Browne, and Sir John Gage. Arundel was not present, but both Gage and Browne were in attendance. Sir Anthony Browne, K.G., was King Henry's Master of the Horse. He was owner of Cowdray, near Midhurst, in West Sussex. Sir John Gage was also K.G., and was Comptroller of the Household. He was owner of Firle Place, on the north side of the Downs, nearly under Firle Beacon, and not far from Lewes and Seaford, in East Sussex. I believe that the Cotton plat was his property, and that he laid it before the King in Council on the date it bears. I shall advance three reasons for this belief. First, a passage in Holinshed, which Dr. Gairdner did not reproduce—perhaps because it was too general in its import; secondly, the Cotton plat again; and thirdly, the argument to be drawn from the near neighbourhood of Firle Beacon to Sir John Gage's mansion-house at Firle.

The beacons of Sussex have played an important part in the history of the south coast and the Weald. They corresponded, in so far as concerns their intention, with the coast-guard stations of to-day. A tax known as 'beaconage' was levied by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county for their upkeep, and it was his duty to see that they were

properly manned and watched in time of war. The beacon watch was drawn from the men of the neighbouring villages, and they were required to assemble at the rallying-place at an hour's notice. The gentlemen of the county who were on the Commission of Peace would assist, and it will be remembered that Ralph Holinshed, speaking of a raid on Brighton in 1513, says that 'The gentlemen that dwelt neere raised the countrie and came to the coast and drove Prior Jehan to his gallies.' This is misplaced by Holinshed, and it is not possible for Prégent de Bidoux to have raided Brighton so early.

Turning to the Cotton plat again, and comparing it with Dr. Gairdner's reading, we may find that he misread the manuscript in two places owing to the close similarity of the letters *r* and *v* in the script of the time. Three bodies of armed men are shown coming over the Downs to the rescue of the burning town. The most westerly is the rally from Poynings (Dr. Gairdner misread *ralley* as 'valley'). The middle rally is the one from Lewes town. Both of these are described in the manuscript. But the third body is not described. Neither are we told whence it comes; but two indications are given which should lead us to solve the problem of its provenance. It is off the road and up among the hills, and it is placed to the rear and to the eastward of the rally marching along the road from Lewes. The meaning that I attach to these circumstances is that the undescribed rally came from a greater distance than the Lewes rally, and that it came from the eastward of Lewes town.

We will leave this third rally for a moment and turn again to the Sussex beacons. Prégent de Bidoux landed at Brighthelmstone under cover of night. The fire-cage to the east of the Steyne, a little way up the east cliff, was set alight, and the watch at the town beacon out on the road to Poynings, some distance north-west of the West Hill, saw the flare and flashed the alarm to Ditchling Bostal. Runners, either from Ditchling Bostal or from Brighthelm-

stone Beacon—most probably from the latter—aroused the men of Poynings and the neighbouring villages. Ditchling Beacon is 800 feet above sea-level, and its light alarmed the middle Weald northward to Crowborough. But the light on Ditchling cannot be seen from Lewes Castle—the Downs themselves intercept the view. How, then, did Lewes town get the alarm? The answer is—from Firle Beacon: that is 700 feet high, and stands to the south-eastward of Lewes. The alarm signal on Ditchling would be seen by the watch at Firle Beacon and would be passed on immediately to Lewes Castle. Within a few minutes from the moment of lighting up the fire-cage near the sea-front of Brighthelmstone the watchers in the eastern and middle Weald would know that the French were a-land. One of the first to know that would have been John Gage of Firle Place, and we need not doubt but that he was one of the gentlemen who dwelt near, as Holinshed says, and raised the country. His, I believe, was the rally depicted to the east of the road from Lewes, up in the hills, and that rally had come along the Downs from Firle, had crossed the Ouse at Itford, and had made its way by Balsdean to the place where we see it on the Cotton plat.

Sir John Gage was a statesman and military commander who was much trusted by King Henry VIII, and constantly employed upon commissions, both at home and abroad. He was governor of Ghisnes and of Oye. He was comptroller of Calais from 1521 to 1523, and was called home to take a seat on the Privy Council. He was the only son of William Gage of Firle Place, by Agnes, daughter of Benjamin Boleney of Bolney, near Cuckfield. He was born in 1479, and lost his father in 1496, when he was put under ward of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham and Lord High Constable. Sir John Gage was made Knight of the Garter in 1532, and was subsequently created Captain of the Guard and Constable of the Tower. He was also Vice-Chamberlain from 1528 to 1540. He retained that post in spite of the fact that he offended King Henry in 1533 by taking sides with

Queen Katharine of Aragon. Sir John Gage died in 1556. He commanded the expedition against King James V of Scotland, which ended with the rout of Solway Moss on November 25, 1542. The Historiographer Royal for Scotland—Dr. P. Hume Brown—speaks of this engagement in somewhat sensational terms. He tells us that there were 10,000 Scotchmen, at least, and about 3000 Englishmen. When the two bodies came face to face between the waters of the Leven and the Esk, a 'strange confusion' arose in the host of the Scotch and they dispersed. Twenty were killed, many were drowned, and 1200 were taken prisoners. The confusion among the Scotchmen, according to Dr. Hume Brown, 'made the day the most disgraceful in their military annals.' Such phrases as this should be avoided in historical writing. It is not wise to assume that we know all because we know the end, and the apportioning of military disgrace should not be undertaken in doubtful circumstances by civilians. The movement of bodies of men over water in face of an active enemy has often been accompanied by accidents the full effect of which could not have been foreseen.

Sir John Gage was highly successful at the waters of the Esk and Leven in 1542. But his possible opponent at Brighton in 1514—the Admiral Prégent de Bidoux—was disastrously unfortunate at the attempted crossing of the river Garigliano by the French in 1503, and a few facts about this famous naval commander may be of interest here.

In 1499, King Lewis XII and his Queen, Anne of Britanny, were entertaining the notion of directing a crusade against the Turks at Constantinople, and, at the request of the Grand Master of Rhodes for help, the Gascon knight Prégent de Bidoux, or Bidoulx, was sent by King Lewis and commanded to act in concert with the Venetians. This expedition failed through disagreement with Venice and through the defection of the Knights of Rhodes themselves. In 1501, a new expedition was organised, and a naval force consisting of

twelve ships from Normandy and Britanny was put under Philip of Ravenstein, together with four galleys under the command of Prégent de Bidoux. This also was compelled to return to France, and the Venetians, so it was said, did not conceal their delight at the failure of their allies. In 1503 Prégent appeared off Gaeta during the siege of that town by the Spaniards, and was in command of six carracks and five galleys. He had more than thirty pieces of artillery, and bombarded the Spanish camp effectively.

In August 1503, Lewis XII made a great effort to recover lost ground, and two French armies were raised. One of the two attacked the Spaniards in Roussillon. The other was sent to the assistance of the French in the kingdom of Naples. By the time it reached the river Garigliano the French army numbered about 10,000 men. In October and November, 1503, the French were encamped on the right bank of the Garigliano, not far from its mouth. Gonzalva and the Spaniards were concentrated on the opposite bank, and Prégent de Bidoux, with his fleet of galleys and carracks, was able to command the mouth of the river and the coast for some distance to the south. The French had the advantage in artillery at the Garigliano, just as their Scottish allies had at Flodden some ten years later. They had twenty-nine pieces of artillery, nine of which are described as great cannons, and these were served by thirty-six skilled gunners. The chances of war were greatly in favour of the French, but a series of errors was committed, the combined effect of which resulted in disastrous defeat.

Prégent de Bidoux had thrown a bridge of boats across the river and had fixed it in position. The Spaniards were not prevented from entrenching themselves, and this they did a little higher up the stream than the head of the bridge. Prégent could not prevent this, perhaps; but he left the bridge of boats in position, and the disasters of the Garigliano may be said to have originated in that error. When the French reinforcements came up their artillery was massed near the bridge as though it were necessary to prevent the

Spaniards from crossing. The Chevalier Bayard, with fifteen men-at-arms and 300 soldiers, impetuously rushed across the bridge, and they took up a position on the left bank directly in the line of fire of their own artillery and thus prevented it from playing upon the enemy. The battle was eventually stopped on December 27, 1503, and two days later the Marquis de Saluces, with the French army, began the retreat upon Gaeta. The artillery was embarked, in the meanwhile, on the river for transhipment to Prégent's galleys ; but the weather was so tempestuous that the roar of the sea is said to have been audible two miles inland. The French fleet was disabled ; the French artillery was engulfed, and it was with the utmost difficulty that Prégent de Bidoux kept his own galley afloat.

The career of this brave and skilful seaman and the actions in which he took part were narrated by the late M. Alfred Spont in the *Revue des Questions historiques* for October 1895, and in the paper on 'The War with France in 1512–13' which the same author contributed to the 'Publications of the Navy Record Society,' 1897.

SECULAR AID FOR EXCOMMUNICATION

By R. C. FOWLER, B.A., F.S.A., F.R.Hist.S.

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EXCOMMUNICATION is a power that probably every religious body has retained over its members. In the case of the Christian Church temporal punishment in addition to spiritual discipline appears to have been first introduced by the imperial edict *De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica* in 380; and it may have been about this time that the power of excommunication passed from the community to the bishop.

It is not proposed here to deal with the history of excommunication, but merely to draw attention to a small class of documents which have been recently arranged at the Public Record Office in 217 files, entitled 'Significations of Excommunication,' and which have not previously been studied. At some date unknown a compromise was made between Church and State in the matter of persons who had offended against ecclesiastical law or resisted ecclesiastical courts. These were publicly excommunicated by the proper authority. If they remained contumacious for forty days, the authority signified this to the Chancery, and a writ of *significavit* or *de excommunicato capiendo* was issued to the sheriff for their arrest and imprisonment until they should yield. The original significations were preserved in the Chancery, and some ten thousand of them remain. Very few were ever copied into the episcopal registers, and they therefore form almost our only knowledge of the practical working of the system—much like cheques

on an account, the ledger and passbook of which have been lost.

The practice is not mentioned in the Constitutions of Clarendon in 1166, presumably because it was already settled. The existing significations begin with the reign of Henry III, and the earliest are three sent in by William, bishop of London, which, though undated, must therefore belong to the years 1216–1221. This is quite remarkable. They form a portion of the Chancery Warrants, a class which was probably not originally intended for permanent preservation. Only one original privy seal before the reign of Edward I is known, and no other dated warrant at all ; but we have a signification in 1264 by the bishop of Exeter, and earlier still by every other English and Welsh bishop except Bangor. The latest was sent in by the bishop of Lichfield in 1611, and the bulk lie in the three-and-a-half centuries between 1250 and 1600. During this period the only legal alteration was the provision for better execution of the writ made by Stat. 5 Eliz., c. 23. The writ was finally abolished by Stat. 53 Geo. III, c. 127, which discontinued excommunication as a secular penalty and provided that disobedience to or contempt of the ecclesiastical courts should be punished by a new writ *de contumace capiendo*.

The regular excommunicating authority was the bishop of the diocese, whose place was taken by the keeper of the spirituality in his absence or during the vacancy of the see. But the right of excommunication was also claimed by others by virtue of peculiar jurisdiction. We have a few significations by the archdeacons of Taunton, Richmond, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Ely ; the deans of the royal free chapels of St. Martin le Grand, Stafford, Tettenhall, Penkridge, and Shrewsbury ; and the abbots of St. Albans, St. Edmund's, Waltham, and Evesham. Those by the abbot of Westminster (1272–1511) and the chancellor of Oxford University (beginning in 1337) are more numerous, but most are made by virtue of definite temporary grants of authority by letters patent. Only two by Cambridge University remain, dated 1384

and 1530. After the Reformation several more archdeacons and deans sent significations, and the power was regularly exercised by the Court of Arches and the Court of Delegates.

In most cases, especially in earlier times, merely the name of the offender is given ; but the offence is sometimes specified, and there are instances of almost every subject which could be dealt with by an ecclesiastical court. Non-payment of tenths is perhaps the most common, and then matrimonial and testamentary cases, fornication, adultery, perjury, and defamation. An assault on a clerk was a serious offence, as in the case of a rector *vestes et tonsuram clericales publice deferentem* in the diocese of Winchester in 1440. John de Harpeleye, baker, of Thornbury (Hereford), acted unwisely when he defamed Master Stephen de Lugwardyn, his vicar, in 1337.

The matter of religious belief was, in theory at least, the most important of all. Sixteen persons, apparently Jews, were reported by the archbishop of Canterbury as apostates from the Catholic faith after baptism in 1282. Cases of heresy are fairly common, one of the earliest and most conspicuous being that of Nicholas Drayton in 1369 (London). John Balle was excommunicated in the diocese of London in 1364 and 1379, and also in the dioceses of Norwich and Canterbury at various dates ; no details are given, but his preachings were doubtless a sufficient reason. We may notice also Master Nicholas Hereford in 1387 (Canterbury) and five Lollards at Northampton in 1394 (Lincoln). Later, under Philip and Mary, many persons suffered for the denial of the Real Presence, their names being generally familiar to us through Foxe's ' Book of Martyrs.' Thomas Wilson, late rector of Badsworth, was denounced as a married priest by the archbishop of York in 1556. Things were reversed under Elizabeth, and the Protestant bishops found a convenient weapon ready to their hand. Thus John Tycheborne, of Owlesbury, was charged with not coming to the Lord's Table reverently with other parishioners in 1562 (Winchester) ; Ralph Clever, of Bishop's Waltham, with

not receiving the Holy Communion in 1563 (Winchester); and Edward Harteborne with refusing to recite the articles of religion in his parish church of St. Benedict, Lincoln, in 1565 (Lincoln).

Two curious cases of sacrilege are mentioned. In 1408 Robert Gybbe, instigated by the devil, as he afterwards said, went about noon to an oratory by the north door of St. Paul's cathedral and cut off the noses of images of St. Mary and Christ in her bosom. In 1441 Hugh Knyght smoked with a wax candle the beard and chin of an image in the chapel of St. John the Baptist at Newport, in the parish of Bishop's Tawton, Devon, and addressed it with abusive words. Several churches are said to be held by armed forces against the proper authority, though this probably means nothing more than a disputed incumbency; and we hear of the pollution of a church (Exeter, 1462), and the violation of the sequestration of the goods of a deceased vicar, with reference to Archbishop Stratford's constitution beginning *Frequens*.

Secular aid was invoked on some occasions against monasteries. In 1314 the archbishop of York gives a complete list of the members of the abbey of Rufford, whom he has excommunicated. The prior of Tiptree was found guilty of dilapidation, fornication, and other crimes in 1389 (London), and the prior of Modbury of fornication in 1407 (Exeter). In 1514 Dame Margaret Vavasour, prioress of Nun Monkton, was excommunicated at the instance of Dame Joan Draycot, late prioress.

Clandestine marriages are mentioned a few times, reference being made in one case (Exeter, 1445) to Archbishop Stratford's constitution *Humana concupiscentia*. In 1401 (Exeter) Felicia Pestour was excommunicated for not undergoing the solemnisation of matrimony with one William Beste, 'viro suo.' Other matrimonial subjects are the expulsion of a wife (Canterbury, 1324), restitution of conjugal rights (London, 1411, and Canterbury, 1419), and refusal to acknowledge a wife (Chichester, 1411).

John Fox, of Wadenhoe, Northamptonshire, was excommunicated for necromancy and enchantment in 1447.

In the majority of cases where the offence was not specified it was probably a refusal to pay money due. The whole number of excommunications can only be conjectured; for, though it is not likely that many significations have been lost, a fair proportion of offenders may have submitted before the expiration of the forty days. This whole number, like the power of the Church, appears to have declined steadily from the end of the thirteenth century to the Reformation, but at no part of this period was the power of excommunication a dead letter.

MANUSCRIPTS AT OXFORD RELATING TO THE LATER TUDORS, 1547–1603 [1]

By F. J. ROUTLEDGE, M.A.

Read December 18, 1913

THOUGH the materials for the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth are very completely known, occasional sidelights may be thrown on this period from minor sources which have hitherto escaped notice. At Oxford, for example, there is a large number of manuscripts which have been little used. It is the object of this paper to give some indication as to their nature and relative importance. An exhaustive account is here impossible. As a rule the manuscripts described are inedited, but references to exceptions are given in the footnotes. At the outset, it must be confessed that the new information disclosed is neither large nor of great intrinsic value, yet nothing which will add to the primary sources of a period is unworthy of notice.

Edward VI had not been king for eight months when the Lord Admiral, Sir Thomas Seymour, was practising to win his confidence and to overthrow his own brother, Protector Somerset. He also desired the King's sanction to his secret marriage with the Queen Dowager, Katherine Parr. The details of two important interviews between them in the autumn of 1547 are given in a 'confession,' written and signed by the King, on the occasion of the trial of the nefarious Sharington, in whose embezzlements at the Bristol mint Seymour was implicated. The unscrupulous Lord Admiral had tried to poison Edward's

[1] I am much indebted throughout this paper to Professor C. H. Firth's kind help and criticism.—F. J. R.

mind against Somerset, who was then in command of the army which defeated the Scots at Pinkie Cleugh. The original of this confession is in the Bodleian Library, and a copy signed by the King is in the archives at Hatfield House.[1]

Princess Elizabeth had also to bear witness against Thomas Seymour, whose visits to her at Hatfield had placed her in an unfavourable light to the Lord Protector. Her 'confession' was vague and unsatisfactory through a natural unwillingness to compromise herself, and perhaps through a desire to shield Seymour; so in a letter to Somerset, dated at Hatfield, February 6 [1548/9], she tried to anticipate his objections.[2]

The Princess Mary, on the other hand, held aloof from the Court and its intrigues, neither sympathising with the new religion nor desiring to become the tool of factions. She was allowed the Mass and a separate household. Detailed ordinances were drawn up for its regulation: the duties and wages of its many officers, the counsellors, yeomen, and grooms, officers of the great chamber, of the chamber of presence, the robes, kitchen, and stable; on

[1] *MS. Ashmole*, 1729, f. 5 r. I have to thank Mr. R. T. Gunton, the keeper of the archives at Hatfield, for information as to the handwriting of the *Hatfield MS.* The body of the document was no doubt written by a clerk, and the King signed it at the foot. The *Hatfield MS.* is printed in full in J. Gough Nicholls's *Literary Remains of Edward VI* (Roxburghe Club), i. 57–59, and in Haynes's *Burghley State Papers* (1740), p. 74, and calendared in *Cal. Hatfield S.P.* (*Hist. MSS. Com.*), 1883, i. 65–6. The Bodleian manuscript has a few verbal differences from the Hatfield copy, the most important being 'Quenes maters' for 'Quenes Majesty' (Haynes, p. 74, l. 3), and 'I asked Chek whether it were good to wright and he said no' for 'Cheke sayd afterwards to me, ye were not best to wright' (*ibid.*, l. 6).

[2] The original, written in Elizabeth's neat Italian hand, is in *MS. Ashmole*, 1729, f. 6. It is printed for the first time in the appendix to this paper (*below*, p. 157). Two other letters, written by Elizabeth to the Protector, which contain one or two phrases identical with those of this letter, but are dated February 21 and March 7, are printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, 1st series, ii. 153–5, 155–8. For her confession, see *Cal. Hatfield S.P.* i. 67. This matter is discussed at length and several of her letters printed in Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, London, 1851, vi. pp. 20–47.

what feast days all were to attend in the hall, how often they were to go to the chapel; the manner of keeping accounts by the clerk of the check and the clerk of the kitchen; the equipment of the princess's horses, and the order of procession in riding.[1]

The 'Good Duke,' as the Protector was called, had just thwarted his brother's plot—though not without damage to his own reputation—when his position was again jeopardised by two formidable rebellions. In the early summer of 1549 the peasants of Cornwall and Devon rose in revolt against the New Religion, and in Norfolk against the recent inclosures which had aggravated deep-rooted causes of social discontent. The Western Rebellion is described as an episode in an historical account of the city of Exeter, contributed to Holinshed's chronicle by John Vowell, *alias* Hooker, one of the sixteenth-century editors and continuers of the work. 'The cause thereof,' he wrote, 'was onlie for and concerninge religion for Kinge Edward the Sixth havinge by Acte [of] Parliament reformed the state thereof'; and as the writer in his capacity of Chamberlain of Exeter had 'reviewed the writings of the sayd citie three times,' as well as being an eye-witness of many of the events of the rising, his narrative carries much authority. There are three manuscript versions of it at Oxford.[2] Ket's rebellion in Norfolk was described by Alexander Neville

[1] *MS. Tanner*, 90, ff. 157–169. This is an original, and is dated Feb. 1, 1548/9.

[2] The full narrative, with the title 'A description of the city of Exeter, and of the sundry assaults given to the same,' as in Holinshed (ed. 1587, 1007–1028), is in *MS. Ashmole*, 762 (printed, Exeter, 1765, 4°). A somewhat shorter version of the portion dealing with the rising of 1549 is in *MS. Rawlinson*, C. 792, entitled 'The beginning, cause, and course of the commotion or rebellion in the counties of Devon and Cornwall in . . . 1549.' Vowell's 'worthy actions' among the Exeter muniments, and an abstract of his narrative, are given in *MS. Gough*, *Devon*, 2. ff. 127–131, under the heading 'Observations taken out of Mr. Hooker's booke that is kept in the chamber at Exon.' The same volume also contains an original rental of Exeter. See also *D.N.B.* xxvii. 288; Gross, *Bibliog. Mun. Hist.* Art., 1571, and Frances Rose-Troupe, *The Western Rebellion of* 1549, London, 1913, Appendix D.

in a Latin narrative entitled *De furoribus norfolciensium*, published in 1575. It was translated into English in 1584 by a Thomas Corbold, who dedicated his work to his patron, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and sent it as a New Year's gift.[1] It is quite literal, occasionally even reproducing the Latin idiom, as in the phrase 'there it was fought long and fiercely,' and it has little linguistic or literary interest.

The religious changes under Edward VI were marked by the increasing influence of alien Protestants, faintly reflected by the Oxford manuscripts. In 1549 there were doctrinal disputations at the two English Universities, in which Peter Martyr, an Italian, was the chief protagonist.[2] There is also a Latin discourse on the ceremonies and discipline of the English Church, written by Martin Bucer, a German, and an anonymous tract defending the marriage of bishops and clergy in general.[3]

Finally, of some interest for this reign, is an original ordinance of the English merchant company at Antwerp, made at their 'court' held on October 21, 1547, declaring that they will hold their 'mart' at Burrow-on-Zoone (Bergen-op-Zoom), in retaliation against the lords of Antwerp who had not respected their privileges.[4]

Mary was crowned and Queen Jane committed to the Tower. The Mass was restored, and by the end of January 1554 the Spanish marriage alliance was concluded. Immediately, Sir Thomas Wyatt with other gentry and 2000 men assembled at Maidstone. A brief contemporary narrative, written from the loyalist standpoint, describes the arrival and entertainment of the Imperial ambassadors, their movements from day to day, the rebellion which

[1] The translation was not printed. The original manuscript is in *MS. Tanner*, 421. It was dated 'At Redgrave this New Yeares day morninge 1584[/5].' At the end is the note: 'Translatum Redgrauiae per Thomam Corbold opus viginti dierum per vacuas horas a praeceptoria functione.'

[2] For the Oxford disputations see *MSS. Add.* C. 197; *Bodley*, 28; and for a similar debate at Cambridge see *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 1326.

[3] *MS. New College*, cccxvii.

[4] *MS. Tanner*, 90, ff. 151–2. These are two leaves evidently taken out of the original registers of the company.

followed, and its suppression.[1] For the foreign policy of the reign, the large number of transcripts of the correspondence between the French Ambassador, Antoine de Noailles, and the French Court, are of considerable importance.[2] Further, among the Huntingdon Papers there are six original letters written by Cardinal Pole to his niece Katherine, Countess of Huntingdon, which possess some personal interest. They show a gentle and sympathetic mind and a simple piety; he inquires about her children's and her husband's health, and exhorts her to look upon her happy family life as proceeding from the bountifulness of God; while in one of the letters he gracefully accepts a present and commends her skill in needlework.[3]

Almost immediately after Elizabeth's undisputed accession two questions of great moment arose. In the first place, though it was generally agreed that the Queen ought to marry in order to continue the direct line of descent from Henry VIII, there were many opinions as to the choice of consort. She might choose to marry a foreign prince, an English peer, or one of the Scottish claimants to the English throne descended from Henry VIII's sister Margaret. The second question was largely dependent on the first: if the Queen were to die without issue, who would be her lawful successor?

[1] *MS. Rawlinson*, B. 102. This is a copy made about 1600 by John Guillim, in a volume of collections for his *Display of Heraldry*. Evidence of dating is given in Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), ii. 299. This account of the embassy does not appear in any of the chronicles (Holinshed, Grafton, Wrothesley, &c.), nor in the narratives of the rebellion printed in Pollard's *Tudor Tracts*, and apparently has never been printed. For Wyatt's rebellion see also *MS. Tanner*, 90, ff. 193–7, of which f. 196 is a circular letter under the Queen's signet, January 27, 1553/4, for levies to oppose the Duke of Suffolk and his brethren (printed in the *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Camden Society, vol. 48, p. 186). There is an undated copy in the P.R.O. (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1547–80, p. 57).

[2] *MSS. Carte*, 57 and 58. See the manuscript *Cal. of Carte Papers* in the Bodleian Library, 1485–1558.

[3] *MS. Carte*, 78. They were not printed in the *Epistolae Reginaldi Poli* (5 vols., Brescia, 1744–57), nor are they noticed in A. Zimmermann's *Kardinal Pole*. They are printed by me in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, July, 1913, pp. 527–531.

As early as February 10, 1558/9, the House of Commons presented a petition asking the Queen to marry. Her answer was evasive and seemed to indicate that she resented their interference, yet she promised that if it pleased God that she should remain in her present state, good provision would be made for an heir not of her body.[1]

One of Elizabeth's first suitors was Duke Eric of Sweden, Gustavus Vasa's eldest son, and 'King Elect.' His brother, John, Duke of Finland, undertook an embassy to England in 1559 to urge Eric's suit, and on his return advised the enamoured prince to visit the Queen in person. Despite two attempts to start in the summer of 1560 and 1561, he never came; and though a section of the Council supported by Cecil looked favourably upon the match to check the aspirations of Robert Dudley, as a foreigner, Eric would not have been acceptable to the people at large, while his accession to his father's throne on September 29, 1560, rendered this marriage impossible.[2] About this time, no doubt, Sir Thomas Smith, an eminent scholar and ambassador, and later a Secretary of State, wrote a dialogue, in which he relates to his neighbour, Francis Wyat, a learned discourse among four gentlemen of the Court on the subject of the Queen's marriage. They represented the typical opinions: one held that she ought not to marry; another that she should marry a foreign prince; the third, an Englishman; and the fourth, a member of the Royal House of Scotland.[3]

[1] Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* i. 661–664; D'Ewes's *Journal*, p. 46.

[2] *Cal. S.P., Foreign* (1559–60), No. 325; *Ibid.* (1560-61), Nos. 324, 636 (3), 802, 1017; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* (1547–80), pp. 140, 144, 157–8, in which, however, the editor has confused Eric with his brother, Duke John. Geijer, *Hist. of the Swedes* (trans. by. J. H. Turner), pp. 141–149. See also Burgon's *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, i. 312–315. The popular dread of the evils of a foreign marriage is strongly put forward in a sermon of Latimer's before Edward VI (*Latimer's Sermons*, Parker Society, 1844, p. 91).

[3] There are two MSS. of this work in the Bodleian Library, viz. *MS. Ashmole*, 829, f. 1, sqq., and *MS. Tanner*, 84, ff. 263–334. The writer of the article on Smith in the *D.N.B.* (liii. p. 125) gives the date of composition as 1560—the year after its author was in attendance on John, Duke of Finland; but it was most likely composed after September 1561, when

Elizabeth's second Parliament met on January 11, 1562/3. The matter of the Queen's marriage and the limitation of the succession was again brought up in the Commons, and on January 28 another petition was presented at the Palace.[1] They had been alarmed by the Queen's serious illness in the autumn, and feared a renewal of dynastic struggles after her death if no statutory provision were made for a successor. 'Itt is the greatest matter,' wrote an absent peer to Elizabeth, 'that ever I or anie man alive at this daye can remember hathe bin brought in deliberation in our daies.'[2] Her reply, read by the Speaker at the end of the session, April 10, was again unsatisfactory: she did not mean to say she would never marry; and she hoped before the end of her life to make some provision for the future safety of the realm.[3] In the third Parliament of the reign, during October and November 1566, there were sharp debates in both Houses, a fresh petition being made to the Queen on November 5. At the dissolution, January 2, 1567, in an angry speech she freely expressed her resentment at their continuing to discuss the succession.[4]

the arrival of Eric in England was daily expected (*Spanish Cal.*, 1558–1567, pp. 211–13; Haynes, *Burghley State Papers*, 370–1). This is proved by the following sentence from the introduction to Smith's treatise: '*Now afresh* the rumor of the King of Sweden's Ericus, coming hether (for, as ye knowe, by the death of his father Gostave yt began to be staide) was renewed againe, and that of many he was undoubtedly looked for to come himself hether into Englande . . . to be a wooer to her majestie.' There are several other MSS. of the discourse besides those referred to in the *D.N.B.*, viz. *B.M. Harl. MSS.* 252, arts. 9, 28; 1130 art. 2; *Trinity Coll. Dublin MS.*, 801, 2. See also *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 5th Rep. App. 363. It is printed in Strype's *Life of Smith* (London, 1698), pp. 78–84, and App. iii.

[1] *Commons' Journals*, i. 63–64; D'Ewes, 81.

[2] *Egerton Papers* (Camden Society), p. 34.

[3] D'Ewes, 75. G. W. Prothero, in *E.H.R.* ii. 741–6, gives reasons for considering that the extant versions of petitions presented in this and the following Parliaments, with the Queen's answers, are merely different versions of the petition and answer of 1563.

[4] A copy of what purports to be the petition of this Parliament is in *MS. Tanner*, 79, ff. 8–10. It is printed in D'Ewes, 105. For the proceedings in Parliament relative to these matters see *Commons' Journals*, i. 74–77; *Lords' Journals*, i. 638–640; D'Ewes, 116–117.

Meanwhile, the controversy had passed beyond the walls of Parliament. Opposed to the popular view was a treatise by one Roger Andrews, addressed to the Queen.[1] He combated the general opinion for limiting the succession of the Crown, 'wherein,' he said, 'some of late have shewed themselves farre more busie then prudent,' and marvelled at the 'blind bouldnes' of a common lawyer who had made a motion to this effect in the 'last parliament' (*i.e.* 1566); yet he was compelled to admit that the uncertainty of the continuation of the present state of affairs was troubling men's minds. However, he questioned the right of Parliament to interfere, and said the Queen had the right to dispose of the Crown absolutely or as the law *de forma donationis* directed, since she was seised of it in demesne—a curious expression of absolutist theory. This treatise, which discusses other matters besides the succession, is distinguished by deep piety as well as eulogy of the Queen. The author exhorts her first to reform Church discipline, to repair the negligence of pastors and to make herself more 'pollitique and prudent' by reading the histories and chronicles of England and other nations. She should choose as counsellors in weighty affairs such as were simple, wise, and careful, and not trust flatterers and ambitious persons; unnecessary wars were to be avoided; abuses of grants of charters, liberties, and privileges reformed; the affairs of the Exchequer examined by quinquennial commissions; and the conversion of parks, warrens, forests, and chases into public habitations begun.

Elizabeth knew well the perils of declaring a successor

[1] *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 718. There is another copy of this work, but without the dedication, in *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 1122, under the name of Sir W. M[ildmay?]. The original is in the British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.*, 238, ff. 63–79, but no author's name is given. The whole tone of the work shows that it was written during the early years of the reign. In the first Rawlinson copy the name Roger Andrews is appended to the dedication, but it is impossible to identify him with the Roger Andrews who became Chancellor of the diocese of Chichester, February 23, 1607/8, and was still alive in 1625 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, i. 261, 271; ii. 430, 437).

while religious factions were but half reconciled, and she had to keep alive the hope of her ultimate marriage and an heir: hence the advocates of claimants in Parliament and outside, crossing her line of policy, provoked her resentment. In 1560 or early in 1561, Edward, Earl of Hertford, Protector Somerset's son, had secretly married Lady Catherine Grey, the representative of the Suffolk line of descent from Henry VII's younger daughter Mary, and the heir to the Crown in remainder under the disputed will of Henry VIII. They were both sent to the Tower. The case was examined before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the marriage declared void.[1] Two years after the trial, John Hales wrote his well-known treatise defending the marriage and urging the Suffolk claim to the succession against the House of Stuart, whether represented by the Queen of Scots or Henry Darnley, the Countess of Lennox's son.[2] The author was imprisoned in the Fleet. Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, was thought to have been concerned in the work, and Sir William Cecil at least to sympathise with its views.[3] Elizabeth was undoubtedly alarmed lest this defence of the claims of the imprisoned Lady Catherine, and an appeal against her detention, indicated a plot in her favour.[4] She was also angry, for at the time she was trying

[1] A copy of the full proceedings in this trial and the verdict of the Court is in *MS. Tanner*, 84, ff. 105–197. This is a volume of transcripts made about the middle of the reign of Charles I.

[2] It was printed in 1563. Manuscript copies of the work in Bodley's Library are *MS. Tanner*, 304, ff. 42–49; *MS. Carte*, 105, f. 83 *sqq.*; and *MS. Ashmole*, 829, ff. 32–42; and in the British Museum, *Cottonian MSS., Julius*, F. vi. ff. 409–422. There is an abstract by 'A. G.,' said to be written November 6, 1599, in *MS., Jones*, 32, ff. 82–87, in the Bodleian, and another in *MS. Tanner*, 79, ff. 24–28, under the name of 'Richard Madox.' See also *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 4th Rep., Ap. p. 371. This treatise was circulated in manuscript during the reign of Elizabeth, as the number of extant copies testifies; in 1713 it was published as an appendix to Harbin's *Hereditary Right of the Crown of England*.

[3] *D.N.B.* ii. 368–9; Haynes, *State Papers*, p. 412; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, i. 405.

[4] Haynes, *State Papers*, pp. 413–415. Examination of John Hales April 25 and 27, 1564.

to conciliate the Catholic party and courting the friendship of her cousin of Scotland.

Elizabeth's position was indeed a difficult one. She was physically debarred from the hope of an heir of her body ; [1] to declare another heir would create a centre for disaffection. Mary Stuart was undoubtedly the rightful heir to the Crown, and the birth of a male child after her marriage with Darnley raised the hopes of the Papists and of the more moderate Protestants that the Crown might be settled on her and her issue ; but she was opposed by many pretenders—such as the Lady Catherine Grey, Lady Strange, the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Earl's kinsmen the Poles.[2] In Parliament, however, she had had the strong support of a united party, and in the literary controversy she was not without well-equipped champions. Two or three years after the production of Hales's work, Sir Anthony Browne, a Catholic Justice of the Common Pleas, wrote a reply,[3] alleging, among other things, the illegitimacy of the Suffolk claimants and the doubtful authenticity of Henry VIII's will. Mary's opponents, however, had another argument against her succession, quite apart from Henry VIII's settlement in favour of the Suffolk house. They urged that, under Edward III's statute regulating inheritance by aliens and those born out of allegiance to the King of England, she was disabled from inheriting the Crown.[4]

[1] A. F. Pollard, in Longman's *Political History of England* (vol. vi.), pp. 326, 347.

[2] *Spanish Calendar*, 1558–1567, p. 297.

[3] Both Hales's treatise and Browne's reply were printed in 1723 by a Nathaniel Boothe, but wrongly attributed to Sir Anthony Browne and Sir Nicholas Bacon respectively (see B.M. Catal. printed books, *s.v.* Browne, Anthony). This error has caused much confusion, even the writer of the article on Nicholas Bacon in the *D.N.B.* (ii. 368–9) repeating it. There are manuscript copies of the two treatises in the same contemporary hand in *B.M. Harl. MSS.*, 537 and 555, part of Hales's treatise being bound in one volume, and the rest, with Browne's reply immediately following it, in the other.

[4] 25 Edw. III. c. 1. It ought to be noted, however, that the statute declared definitely that the king's children could inherit in England *wheresoever* they were born.

This view was elaborately set out in the form of a dialogue between 'Serjeant Browne' and 'Serjeant Fairfax,' in which the author stated that the laws of England, impatient of deformity, 'decree that an Englishe head is most naturall for an Englishe bodie, and exclude all others.'[1] This argument was examined and refuted in another work of uncertain authorship. The writer displays wide legal and historical knowledge, while some indication of the political thought of the time is given by his elaboration of the old analogy between the natural body and the body politic. Anticipating, perhaps, the further objection to Mary Stuart, that she was a Catholic, he adds to his main thesis that 'the Queene of Scots by her birth in Scotland is not disabled by the law of England to receive the crowne of England by discent,' the proviso, 'if none other matter were cause to the contrary.' This treatise was supplemented, at the suggestion of the person (apparently a judge of the courts) to whom the author had submitted it, by a minute examination of Henry VIII's disputed will.[2] Maitland, the Scottish Queen's secretary, writing to Cecil, January 5, 1567, urged him so to counsel his mistress—

'as some effectuall reparation may followe withoute delay the manye and sondrie traverses and disfavourings committed against the Quene my sovereign, as the publishing of so many exemplifications of King Henries supposed will, the secreate embracing of John Hales booke, the bokes printed but not avowed the last somer . . . the disputes and proceadings of Lincolns Inne where the case was ruled against the Quene my

[1] A manuscript of this treatise—which bristles with citations from ancient, mediæval, and contemporary authorities, both legal and historical—is in *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 1122. It is possibly one of the works referred to at the opening of [Browne's ?] treatise on the same subject (*MS. Rawlinson*, A. 124), *vide infra*, note 2.

[2] These two treatises are in *MS. Rawlinson*, A. 124, ff. 1–47, 47–58; while there is another copy in the *B.M. Harl. MSS.* 849. On the flyleaf of the *Bodleian MS.* a note in a later hand states that the book was supposed to have been written by Sir Anthony Browne in 1566; but probably this has been confused with the reply to Hales's book mentioned above.

sovereign [and], the speaches by sondrie in this last session of Parliament.'

In the same letter he examined the doubtful will, contending that it was invalid, since the King had not signed it with his own hand, while he pointed to the marriage contract between Henry VII's daughter and James as proving that that astute monarch had not contemplated alien birth as a bar to the union of the English and Scottish Crowns.[1]

These interminable arguments were developed in many anonymous tracts and 'libels,' circulated for the most part in manuscript, though a few were secretly printed.[2] On the one side, there was the fear of Mary's Catholicism and the desire for an Act of Parliament to strengthen the slender claims of the Lady Catherine Grey; on the other, was the hatred of the Puritan tendencies of those who were the strongest supporters of the Suffolk claims, and the hope that Elizabeth would ultimately settle the Crown on the Queen of Scots and her infant son. But both parties were convinced that, unless the succession were fixed or limited by statute, civil war would immediately follow Elizabeth's death.[3] A writer on

[1] *Egerton Papers*, pp. 41–49. There is a manuscript copy in the Bodleian in *MS. Carte*, 105, ff. 70–74.

[2] At the end of an abbreviated version of Doleman's treatise on the succession (*vide infra*, p. 135, note 3), printed in 1655, there is an inadequate list of books written on this subject during the reign of Elizabeth. However, it includes a treatise in favour of James VI of Scotland, by Robert Heghington, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland; and another treatise in favour of the Dukes of Parma, as next heirs of claims made on behalf of the royal house of Portugal. Other treatises are mentioned in Murdin, *State Papers*, p. 20, *vide infra*, p. 131, note 4; see also a short list at the end of Harbin's *Hereditary Right*.

[3] See a tract entitled 'Allegacions in the behalf of the high and mighty princes, the Lady Marie now Quene of Scots, against th' opinions and bookes set forth in the parte and favour of the Ladie Katherin and the rest of the issues of the French Quene towching the succession of the Crowne.' The copy in *MS. Ashmole*, 829, ff. 43v–54r, is taken from a printed book, and is dated '20 Martii 1565[/6].' The same fear of civil war is also shown in a reply, entitled 'Allegacions against the surmised title of the Quene of Scots and the favourers of the same' (*Ibid.*, ff. 54r–62v). Other manuscripts are in the *B.M. Addit. MSS.*, 34,216; *Cottonian*

Mary's side condemned the greater part of the book of an opponent as nothing 'but a malicious invective against corrupt religion wherewith he taketh them to be infected that favour the title of the Quene of Scots';[1] to the fear of her Catholicism was added the national antipathy to a Scottish ruler, and the presumed danger of England becoming a mere appanage of the northern kingdom.[2] Bolder controversialists claimed that not only were Mary's rivals, the Suffolks, illegitimate, but also all the children of Henry VIII, risking the penalties of the Treason Laws and provoking the new additions to them by the next Parliament which made it high treason to discuss the succession.[3]

But by far the most complete vindication of Mary's rights appeared in 1569, the year of the Northern Rebellion when the Bishop of Ross, her ambassador, and the chief of her secret agents in England, published a general defence of his royal mistress's honour, her government in Scotland, and title to the English Crown, along with a reply to Knox's famous pamphlet the 'Monstrous regiment of women.' During his examinations in 1571 for complicity in the rebellion, the Bishop persistently denied that he had even seen the book; but the subsequent publication abroad of translations of the work into Latin and French under his own name leaves no doubt as to the authorship.[4] In

MSS., Calig. B. ix. f. 250. This tract was printed in December 1565. See J. Scott, *Bibliography of Works relating to Mary Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh Bibliog. Soc. 1896), No. 37. This is followed in the same volume by 'a copie of an aunswer to a litle booke [i.e. the foregoing treatise] herein mencioned' (*MS. Ashmole*, ff. 62v–67r). For other manuscript copies of these treatises see *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 2nd Rep., App. 43; 3rd Rep., App. 185; 4th Rep., App. 208, 371; and 10th Rep., Ap. iv., 4.

[1] *MS. Ashmole*, 829, f. 67r.

[2] This is one of the 'allegacions against,' &c. (*Ibid.*, ff. 54r–62v).

[3] *MS. Ashmole*, 829, ff. 67–71. This is a copy of a letter to some person who had evidently taken a prominent part in the discussions of Parliament, warning him not to go farther into the matter, and especially not to support the writer of the book in which the above argument is used. Discussion was made treasonable by Stat. 13 Eliz. c. 1.

[4] *D.N.B.* xxxiii. 97–8, xlv. 171; Watt, *Bibliog. Britt.* (Edinburgh, 1824), vol. ii. *s.v.* 'John Leslie'; Murdin, *State Papers*, pp. 14, 20. He declared at his examination, October 31, 1571, that Thomas Bishop (one

the portion of the work relating to the succession, the zealous Bishop had obtained the assistance of Sir Anthony Browne, the author of the reply to Hales.[1] Elizabeth regarded all discussion of the succession as almost open disloyalty; yet, while attempting to stifle further controversy by the Treason Act of 1571, she thwarted a Bill passed by both Houses in 1572 to bar the captive Queen of Scots from the throne.[2] The success of her devious domestic and foreign policy depended upon the concealment of her plans until concealment was no longer possible. Dissimulation with her was almost a passion.

Meanwhile, the change in her foreign policy after the rebellion and her negotiations with the French Court had revived the marriage question. Henry, Duke of Anjou, the brother of the French King, was her new suitor, and the match was favoured by some of the Council. It was the hope sprung from despair, and they were willing to disregard the great objections of the duke's religion and the possibility of England being annexed to the Crown of France, if only an heir could be born of the Queen and pretenders silenced.[3] But it was a mere incident in Elizabeth's political game, and she had never seriously thought of matrimony. More serious, however, in outward appearance was her courtship

of the intermediaries between himself and the northern earls) had made the book, and that he had merely made some alterations. He also refers several times to a work by Caryll, a prominent lawyer, and to Hales's treatise and its refutation. Further, a book against the proposed match between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, supposed to have been written by one Sampson, 'a preacher,' was mentioned at the same examination. There is a copy of the tract in *MS. Carte*, 105, ff. 76–78. See also Scott, *Bibliog.*, Nos. 61, 62, 73, 74, 115, 137. In *MS. Carte*, 105, ff. 16–65, there is a reply to a republication of Ross's book in 1584. For other replies see *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 5th Rep., Ap. p. 363; 6th Rep., Ap. p. 350.

[1] See title-page to pt. ii. in the Liège edition, 1571. It is stated here that the work was written in 1567, the year in which Sir Anthony died.

[2] *Commons' Journals*, i. 94–97, 101–2; *Lords' Journals*, i. 721, 723, 728; D'Ewes, 202, 221, 224.

[3] See a discourse on this marriage by Sir Nicholas Bacon, dated 1570, *Egerton Papers*, pp. 50–59.

of his younger brother, Francis, Duke of Alençon and later of Anjou. Beginning before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, it was kept up for the space of twelve years with all the showy trappings of romance and false sentiment. Burghley and six of the Council held a conference in 1579 and drew up in all seriousness a list of the advantages and disadvantages of the marriage, among which they mentioned 'the discontentment of the people to be governed by a stranger.' [1] In September of the same year this objection was stated more forcibly in a pamphlet published by John Stubbs, with the title, 'Discovery of a Gaping Gulf, wherein England is like to be swallowed up by another French marriage.' [2] The author was punished with great barbarity, and a proclamation issued ordering all copies of the book to be destroyed in the sight of some public officer wheresoever they were found.[3] Anjou, however, was finally thrown over in 1583. At last it was realised that Elizabeth, who was now forty-nine years old, could never give the nation an heir of her body, and henceforward the marriage question lost all interest.

Hope of the succession of Mary Stuart, who was still a prisoner in England and the centre of Spanish and Papal intrigue, had not yet been abandoned. The question was again raised by the publication at Antwerp in 1584 of the scurrilous attack upon Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, known as 'Leycester's Commonwealth.' It was doubtless the work of a political enemy, and not of the Jesuit Parsons, to whom it used to be attributed. Leicester had formerly intrigued with all factions against Cecil; but after the negotiations with Anjou had been broken off, he was strengthened by his adhesion to Walsingham and the Puritan faction, and his pretensions now appeared to be

[1] *Egerton Papers*, pp. 78–80.

[2] There are two MSS. in the Bodleian—namely, *MSS. Douce*, 46 and 259. Another copy is in the *B.M. Harl. MS.* 180, art. 2, with a reply by Lord Henry Howard; *ibid.*, art. 3, and *Additional MSS.* 34216, ff. 27–43.

[3] R. Steele, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations*, i. No. 740.

as great as they had ever been.[1] All the incidents of his past life were reviewed and so presented that he became a monster of lust and cruelty. His support in the Parliament of 1562–3 of the Earl of Huntingdon's title—derived from the Duke of Clarence, Edward IV's brother—was interpreted as the mask for schemes to obtain the Crown for himself. The remainder of the book is devoted to a discussion of the succession. Beginning with the issue of Edward III, the author traced the dynastic controversies which led to the Wars of the Roses, and stated all the rival claims to the throne of Elizabeth, even those of the House of Portugal and Philip of Spain. If the Earl of Huntingdon's title were allowed, the old factions of York and Lancaster would be instantly renewed. The Lennox line, now represented by Arabella Stuart, whom Leicester wished to marry to his youngest son Robert, was declared illegitimate ; and the children of the Earl of Hertford, who inherited the Suffolk claims, 'triple bastards.' The conclusion was therefore in favour of the Scottish Queen and her son James VI.[2] But James was now 'a confirmed heretic' ; and two years later, under pressure from Philip and the Pope, Mary made over her claims by will to the King of

[1] *D.N.B.* xvi. 112–121 ; xliii. 418.

[2] *Leycester's Commonwealth* was printed in 1584 and 1641. Its original title was 'The copie of a leter, wrytten by a Master of Arte of Cambridge to his friend in London . . . about the present state and some proceedinges of the Earle of Leycester and his friendes in England, conceyved, spoken . . .,' &c. It was in the form of a dialogue. In the Bodleian Library there is a manuscript of the earlier portion (pp. 1–116 of the 1584 edition) in *MS. Jones*, 32, ff. 1–72. Another portion of the work (pp. 128–164) follows as if it were a fresh work, with the title 'A treatise of the succession of the crown of England' (*MS. Jones*, 32, ff. 72–81). The dialogue form is dropped and the work considerably abbreviated. An abstract of this part of the work is in *MS. Ashmole*, 829, ff. 71–73, under the title 'The process of the discent of the Houses of York and Lancaster.' Other MSS. of '*Leycester's Commonwealth* are in *Rawl.* D. 9, 10, and 719. As the writer of this libel favoured the Queen of Scots, it was anticipated that Leicester would use his whole force to do her harm.—T. Morgan to Queen of Scots, 1585/6, January 15 (Murdin, pp. 456–457 ; *Cal. Hatf. S.P.* iii. 129).

Spain, who considered himself the next heir, in the event of her son remaining obstinate.[1]

The plottings of the Queen of Scots and her partisans brought her to the block ; the Protestant lords were supreme in Scotland, and Philip's attack upon England was repelled. All but extremists now looked upon James as Elizabeth's successor. The Jesuit missionaries had to cast about for another candidate. Arabella Stuart was the last hope of some Catholics, and several projects for her marriage abroad were put forward.[2] Others vainly speculated upon James's conversion. But the Jesuits looked to Spain, and pointed to the Spanish Infanta as the surest hope of their religion. Her claim was advanced by Parsons in his ' Conference on the Succession,' issued from the printing-press at St. Omer, in 1594.[3] Their efforts, however, were vain, for the Spanish King, in spite of several attempts, could not conquer Elizabeth's fleet. In 1598 he died. With the exception of Arabella Stuart, whose supporters were few and not powerful, the son of Mary Stuart was now without a rival.

The question of the succession had brought together Elizabeth's three great difficulties : the Queen of Scots, Spain, and English Catholicism. The combination of these forces in 1569, the year in which popular excitement about the succession was perhaps at its highest, with the feudal power of the north of England, and a popular rising resting partly on religion and partly on economic discontent, and the merging of all in a Court conspiracy by the Duke of Norfolk to throw off the domination of Cecil, produced the real crisis of the reign. Two or three manuscripts are

[1] *Spanish Calendar*, 1580–1586, pp. 562–4, 581, 590–1, 644, 647 (February to November, 1586).

[2] For example, see letter of Card. Arnaud d'Ossat to Henry IV of France on the designs of Spain and the Pope for marrying her to Cardinal Farnese, and securing their succession (*B.M. Stowe MSS.* 155, f. 18).

[3] It was published under the pseudonym of 'Doleman.' There is a manuscript copy in *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 167, written in a neat but very minute contemporary humanistic hand. It lacks the large genealogical tree appended to the printed edition.

worthy of notice in this connexion. There is a long official list of two leaves of 'the names of all the rebells, gentlemen and yeomen, taken the 21 day of December anno 1569 within the West Marches,' and of those taken in Cumberland. They are arranged in four columns, gentlemen and yeomen. At the end of the first leaf is the note :—

On Wenesday and Thurseday the 4 and 5 of January did suffer at Durham 66 constables and other persons, amongst whome thre Aldermen of Durham and one preste called Plomtree were most notable.

At Durham on Thursday and Frydaye the 5 and 6 of this instant did vii persons suffer, whereof one Dale an Inholder and Dale 'Nea(n)shin' were towe.

What execution shalbe at Artilpoole and Richmond is unknowne.[1]

To this must be added an extract from a book containing a survey of the lands of the rebels who took part with the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland,[2] and two accounts of the trial of the Duke of Norfolk.[3] The most important of these manuscripts is one containing the answers of Thomas Bishop, an agent of the Bishop of Ross, Mary's ambassador in London, to questions put to him by the Queen's commissioners. Though undated, there can be no doubt that it refers to a different examination from that contained in the Hatfield State Papers.[4]

The many plots against the Queen's life, contrived by zealots and political schemers, inspired an anonymous

[1] *MS. Tanner*, 50, ff. 128, 129. On the back, in another hand, are notes of several sums of money received, January 22, 1569[/70], probably as fines.

[2] *MS. Dodsworth*, 49, f. 55 *sqq.* It is taken from the document called 'Humbertson's Survey' (*P.R.O. Exchcq. K.R. Misc. Bks.* 37, 38), quoted in Miss R. R. Reid's paper in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N.S., vol. xx. 176–201.

[3] *MS. Tanner*, 237, ff. 12v–25v ; *MS. Bodley*, 966, pp. 220–288.

[4] *MS. Tanner*, 50, ff. 130–2. The examination of Bishop, printed in Murdin, *State Papers*, pp. 214–17, is dated May 5, 1572, and contains answers under twenty heads. The Tanner manuscript consists of twelve answers. See also *Cal. Hatf. MSS.* pt. ii. p. 17.

author to write a treatise discussing, with many references to Roman law and Roman history, the justifiability of avenging 'the violent death of a princes' [*sic*]. He pointed out that there was then no provision for her protection against murder, by force or poisoning, 'especially if the villanye were either procured or wroughte by those whoe looke to succeede hir,' and no means of avenging her death.[1] After Babington's vain plot, she gave her consent to the execution of the Scottish Queen; but she tried, as usual, to put the responsibility of such an irretrievable step upon other shoulders. Secretary Davidson, who had obtained her signature to the warrant, was chosen as scapegoat, and was tried in the Star Chamber, for the 'great and heynous indignitie, as her Majestie taketh it,' of making undue haste with the execution when the Queen had in mind 'some manner of avoiding the spilling of blood.' The whole affair was, of course, merely one of the many solemn farces performed during the reign when Elizabeth wished a minister to suffer the odium of her own actions. However, an eye-witness named William Nutt, not knowing this, wrote an account of all the speeches delivered at Davidson's trial, with occasional criticisms, as, for instance, that the 'Earle of Lincolne said litle to the purpose,' and the 'Earle of Cumberland was very short.'[2] The luckless secretary was sentenced to a fine of 1000 marks and imprisonment at the Queen's pleasure. He was released in 1589, but Elizabeth declined to rehabilitate him, and he retired into poverty. Among the Bodleian manuscripts there are also a seventeenth-century 'history of the life and troubles

[1] *MS. Perrott*, 8, ff. 93–97. It is dated, in a different hand, January 1584[/5], long after the additions to the Treason Laws, which the author traces back to the Imperial Ban, the *leges de laesa maiestate*, and the legality in Hebrew Law of vengeance taken by the nearest relation of a murdered man.

[2] In *MS. Ashmole*, 862 (ff. 235–245), there is a copy of this account of the trial, taken from the autograph copy said to be a 'MS. penes Roberti [*sic*] Sherell.' It is printed in Sir Harris Nicolas's *Life of William Davidson*, Appendix, pp. 330–349.

of the Queen of Scots' and a copy of Strangeways' 'Life.'[1]

The Earl of Leicester, allied for the moment to the Puritans, was an uncertain power in the Council. In spite of his many failings and his attempts to thwart all Burghley's schemes, in the hope of becoming more than a mere courtier, he remains one of the most fascinating figures of the reign. If only for this reason, two autograph letters in the Douce collection have some interest.[2] Of greater interest, however, is a brief work called the *Itinerarium ad Windsor*, which describes a conversation on the antiquities of the realm between Leicester, Lord Buckhurst, and William Fleetwood, recorder of London. Fleetwood's severity in the enforcement of the penal laws aroused the deep hatred of the Catholics, and his intimacy with the Earl earned him the name of 'Leicester's mad recorder.'[3]

The schemes of the recusants to overthrow the government of Elizabeth and Burghley were far more serious than the clumsy intrigues of the discontented soldier and courtier, and they continued in spite of Mary's execution and the repulse of Philip's Armada. On October 18, 1591, the Queen issued a proclamation declaring the troubles

[1] *MS. Ashmole*, 829, ff. 160–207; *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 63. In the *Camden Society*, vol. 93 (1866), pp. 67–134, is printed a justification of Elizabeth's proceedings against the Queen of Scots—an example of the official tracts circulated by the Government in connexion with the great trials of the reign. This justification also reiterates what was declared on Elizabeth's behalf against Davidson in the Star Chamber. The editor of the volume refers to three MSS. of this tract; there are two more in the Bodleian, viz. *MS. Add.* C. 83 (incomplete); *MS. Tanner*, 108.

[2] *MS. Douce*, 393, ff. 24, 26. They are printed in the Appendix, pp. 158, 159.

[3] *MS. Tanner*, 84, ff. 202–217; *D.N.B.* xix. 268. At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, March 26, 1857, Mr. J. Bruce read a paper on this work, based upon an imperfect transcript in *B.M. Harl. MS.* 168, art. 1, in which he stated that his inquiries at Oxford and Cambridge and elsewhere had failed to discover a complete copy (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1857, i. 602; *Proceedings Soc. Antiq.* iv., 1857–9, p. 48; *Archaeologia*, 1857, xxxvii. 351–361). The imperfect copy is printed in *Archaeologia*, *loc. cit.* In the *Tanner* copy there are 8 ff. after the point where the *B.M.* copy ends.

'pretended against the realm by seminary priests sent to work great treasons.'[1] It gave an account of their usual disguises, and commanded subjects to make diligent inquiries to detect them. 'An humble supplication unto her majesty' in answer to this proclamation follows Doleman's [Parsons's] treatise on the succession, in the Bodleian manuscript copy, already mentioned.[2] It begs for clemency to those Catholics who wished to remain loyal to their Queen and country, but were forced to leave its shores and follow their religion in a foreign land, or imperil their souls by conforming to heretical rites and doctrines. Complaint is also made of the instructions given to the magistrates, of the language used in the proclamation in certain references to papists and priests and the King of Spain, and above all of the phrase 'unnatural subjects.' There is another reply, entitled 'a declaration of the true causes of the great troubles presupposed to be intended against the realm of England,' which has usually been attributed to the Jesuit Parsons.[3] Colour was given to their disloyalty, however, by persistent rumours in 1596 of a Spanish invasion to re-establish Catholicism and the Papal power.[4] There was further plotting against Elizabeth's life, in which the seminary priests had the aid of zealous laymen. Dr. Lopez, one of the royal physicians, was tried on February 27, 1593/4, on the charge of conspiring to poison the Queen, to raise a rebellion, and to bring over the Spaniards.[5]

Somewhat different in nature, though it involved many of the disaffected recusants, was Essex's attempted rebellion. He had returned in disgrace from Ireland, in October 1599,

[1] R. Steele, *Proclamations*, i. No. 537.

[2] *Supra*, p. 135; *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 167, ff. 56–63.

[3] But on very doubtful grounds, according to Mr. T. G. Law (*D.N.B.*, xliii. 418). A copy of this tract and an answer to it are in *MS. Corpus Christi College*, CC., f. 30 *sqq.* Another copy, dated 1592, is in *MS. Add.* C. 304[B], ff. 1–15. It is endorsed in a later hand 'A slanderous invective against the state and some particular persons many yeares past.'

[4] There are several papers relating to this in *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 1047.

[5] A seventeenth-century copy of the trial is in *MS. Bodley*, 966, pp. 509–512. This trial is not included in Howell's *State Trials*.

and for a time was confined to his house during the Queen's pleasure. On his release, he became the leader of those who had been disappointed of office or were opposed to the dogmas and government of the English Church. Puritans as well as Papists were among his adherents, and one of these, according to a letter written by a Mr. Thomas Arundell to Sir Robert Cecil, was chiefly to blame for the Earl of Southampton's complicity. 'One Cuff,' he wrote, 'a certayne Purytane skoller, one of the whottest hedded of my lord of Essex his followers,' was sent by Essex 'to reade to my lord of Southampton in Paris, wheare he redd Aristottle's Polyticks to hym with sutch exposytions as I doubt did hym but lyttle good: afterwards he reed to my lord of Rutlande.' This Thomas Arundell, a kinsman of Southampton's, was anxious to clear himself of suspicion, and in his letter petitions for a grant in fee-farm of some of the Earl's lands, to which his own sons were the next heirs male, if the Queen were to decide that 'he must needes dye and forfayt all.'[1] The conspiracy leaked out; an attempted rising in London on February 8, 1600/1, failed; and Essex, Southampton, Rutland, and their chief confederates, were sent to the Tower. A desperate attempt to force Elizabeth to release them was planned by some of his hotter-headed followers. Captain Thomas Lea, who had been in the Earl's army in Ireland, contrived to reach the Privy Chamber door about nine o'clock on February 12, as the Queen was about to go to supper. 'His purpose,' in the words of the Lord Keeper at the council board next morning, 'was to have slipped in, to have murdered the queene with a pistoll, and so to have delivered the traitors out of the Tower.'[2] Lea was immediately imprisoned, and on February 14 he was removed to the Tower in a closed

[1] *MS. Ashmole*, 1729, ff. 101–2, dated 1600[/1], February 18.

[2] *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 1048. 'A breefe relacion of severall speeches uttred by some of the counsell on Friday the xiiith of Februarye 1600[/1].' In the same volume are copies of Essex's well-known apology, and two undated letters; one from Lord Keeper Egerton to Essex, the other from Essex to the Lord Keeper.

coach, manacled, and attended by 'discreet persons . . . without halberts or such show as might draw a concourse of people.' Within four days, he suffered a traitor's death at Tyburn. This foolhardy exploit hastened Essex's trial. He came before his peers in Westminster Hall, on February 19, 1600/1, and in spite of counter accusations against Cecil of favouring the succession of the Spanish Infanta, he was condemned to death. He was beheaded in private at the Tower on the 25th.[1]

The importance of the Queen's ministers is the subject of an amusing dialogue between an usher and a post-boy at the Court.[2] The post-boy had come with letters for the Queen's service, which he had been instructed to deliver instantly to Secretary Cecil. The usher tells him that Cecil has gone out, and advises him to deliver his letters to the Queen herself. 'Queen's service!' he exclaims, 'what talk you? I know not what you think, but I am sure the world thinkes she doth herself best service, . . . for all her many servants, though, I confess (for Honor's sake) all greate princes must have attendants for their business.' In various pedantic speeches the usher explains to the amazed post-boy that she uses her servants as the mind does the senses, seeing and hearing through them, but deciding according to her own judgment. He extols her

[1] *Acts of P.C.*, N.S. xxxi. 153, 159, 162–3; *Cal. Carew Papers* (1601–1603), pp. 35–39; copies of the proceedings at the trial of the Earls of Essex, Southampton, and Rutland are in *MS. Bodley*, 966, as well as an account of the former's execution. These narratives are not the same as those in Howell's *State Trials*. See also *MS. Ashmole*, 1729, and *MS. University College*, clii. There are several manuscript narratives at Oxford of the State Trials of the reign; but they are of little value, because, where they differ from the versions in Howell, they are usually shorter. See especially *MS. Bodley*, 966; *MSS. Ashmole*, 767, 830, and 862 (p. 229); *MS. Willis*, 58; *MS. E musaeo*, 55; *MS. All Souls*, ccviii.; *MSS. Corpus*, cclv., ccxcviii.; *MS. Queen's*, cxxi. (See H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS. Coll. Oxon.*)

[2] *MS. Tanner*, 79, ff. 14–15. This paper is written in a seventeenth-century hand; it is printed from a manuscript in the British Museum (*Harl. MSS.* 286, f. 248 *sqq.*) in Nichol's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, 1st ed. ii., *sub anno* 1591. The author was John Davies.

goodness and wisdom, and says that the fact that the letters borne by the post come from the Emperor of China need not deter him from delivering them into her hands, for there is sure to be a translation in Spanish, Italian, French, or Latin—all of which she understands.

Many of the manuscript volumes in the Bodleian Library contain copies of miscellaneous State Papers and letters relating to foreign policy.[1] Among these, no doubt, there are a few copies of lost originals, but the new information to be gleaned from them for the reigns of the last three Tudors must of necessity be very small. For example, there is a copy of the instructions of Sir Thomas Smith, who was sent, in December 1571, to negotiate the first Anjou marriage. These instructions are wrongly dated December 3, 1572, for he set sail from Dover on December 15, 1571, and reached Paris on the 24th. Walsingham, in a letter of December 31, refers to them as being rather vague, but the instructions themselves do not appear in the Foreign or Domestic Calendars.[2] As for originals, in the first place, there are two letter books of Sir Amias Paulet, resident ambassador in Paris from October 1576 to November 1579.[3] Secondly, a large volume of miscellaneous transcripts, compiled in the seventeenth century, contains 'a brief discourse of the voyage made by the English who

[1] See miscellaneous copies and lists of State Papers in *MSS. Rawlinson*, D. 814, 1087; *Tanner*, 77, 115; *Ashmole*, 1729; *Carte*, 88, 96; *Rawlinson Letters*, 77; *Queen's College*, xxxii. There are also some originals, *e.g. MS. Douce*, 393; *MS. Engl. Hist.* C. 34; *MSS. Carte*, 55–58 (*vide infra*, p. 147). The Douce manuscript contains a large number of original papers, among which are twenty letters of the years 1570–1593 dealing with meetings and assemblies of Anabaptists, lands of fugitives, musters, assizes, and levies of men for service in the Low Countries. See also Rep. on the Public Records, 1800, p. 348.

[2] *MS. Ashmole*, 829, ff. 210–217. There is another copy in *B.M. Harleian MSS.*, 253, ff. 143–152, dated December 3, 1571. An extract is printed in F. Raumer's *Contributions to Modern History* (trans. 1836), pp. 202–6. See also *For. Cal.* 1569–71, Nos. 2174, 2187, 2202; *Walsingham's Diary* in *Camden Misc.*, vi. 13.

[3] *MS. Add.* C. 82 (January 1577/8 to August 1578); *Rawl.* A. 331 (May 1577 to January 1577/8). The latter has been edited by O. Ogle (Roxburghe Club, 1866). These MSS. are mentioned by Mr. A. F. Pollard in the bibliography of Longmans' *Political History*, vi. 489.

were sent over for the releife of the French kinge, under the leadinge of the Lord Willoughby,' in September 1589.[1] Henry of Navarre, who had just succeeded the murdered Henry III, was hard pressed by the Catholic League in the ninth and last of the Wars of Religion. With his foreign allies, he succeeded in reaching Paris and capturing outlying suburbs, but the English troops, as was their wont when serving abroad, grew discontented with their pay and rations and were anxious for pillage. Though they seem to have behaved with much cruelty and licence in captured towns,[2] this discourse highly extols their skill and valour, and says the French King was amazed to hear that they were merely levies. Thirdly, there are several original letters from the Czar of Russia to Elizabeth,[3] and an original warrant by Elizabeth, May 7, 1597, for the exportation of 23,000 [lb.] weight of bells, bell-metal, and copper to Russia by the Muscovite company of London merchants, which they were providing 'at the request of a great person about the Emperor there whose favour they have often found readie to the continuancing and furthering of their trade.'[4] Fourthly, in a Tanner volume, there are many original letters concerning William Harborn's missions to Turkey and Poland, roughly extending over the period 1580–1590.[5] Lastly, three papers in connexion with the naval expeditions of the reign must be mentioned: (I) Short narratives of Drake's expeditions of 1570 and 1586;[6] (II) brief notes of his last voyage;[7] and (III) 'Advertisements

[1] *MS. Bodley*, 966, pp. 487–493.

[2] *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1581–90, pp. 615–621, 628, 645; *Ven. Cal.*, 1581–91, No. 903.

[3] *MS. Tanner*, 50, contains a few transcripts; *MS. Tanner*, 78, f. 88, translation of letter from the Czar to Elizabeth, December 1585; *MSS. Ashm.* 1538–9, 1784–6 (six original letters in Russian from the Czar to Elizabeth).

[4] *MS. Ashmole*, 1729, f. 28.

[5] *MS. Tanner*, 79. For these missions see also *Hakluyt's Voyages* (ed. Glasgow, 1904), v. *passim*, vi. 58, and *Ven. Cal.*, 1581–1591, *passim*.

[6] *MS. Ashmole*, 830; see also *MS. Tanner*, 79, f. 53, for particulars of ships under Drake in September 1585.

[7] *MS. Tanner*, 77, f. 95.

from the Groyne,' and elsewhere, giving details of the expedition to Portugal, April to June, 1589.[1]

The manuscripts at Oxford for the history of Ireland during this period are both numerous and important. The country was now distracted by the feuds of the native clans and the greed and cruel acts of repression of the Anglo-Irish of the Pale. The Irish clans, indeed, were linked by their common hatred of the foreign intruders. They, in their turn, had a common interest in subjugating the native Irish, whom they regarded as the savage inhabitants of a barbarous land; yet both native Irish and the English settlers alike were split into innumerable factions by petty jealousies and family quarrels. The rebellious spirits of both races were a source of constant danger to the Tudors, but the two classes of rebels had to be subdued by different methods. This is forcibly pointed out by Sir William Gerrard, who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland during the later years of Sidney's viceroyship, in an interesting report on the state of the country, drawn up in 1578 at the wish of the Queen.[2]

'The Irish [he wrote in his dedicatory letter] is known by name, speech, habit, feeding, order, rule and conversation; he accompteth himself chief in his own country and (whatsoever he say or profess) liketh of no superior. He mortally hateth the English. By will he governeth those under him, supplying his and their wants by preying and spoiling of other countries [*i.e.* counties] adjoining. These live as the Irish lived in all respects before the Conquest.'

Gerrard advocated keeping this class of rebels in subjection by 'policy,' with the exercise of as little force as necessary, and thus economising. The Anglo-Irish rebels,

[1] *MS. Tanner*, 79, ff. 48–52, originals; *cf. Ven. Cal.*, 1581–1591, Nos. 855, 856, where there is a report of the movements of the English squadron down to June 14, said to be obtained from 'a good source.' *Cf.* letter from Sir Fr. Drake and Sir J. Norris to Privy Council printed from *Talbot Papers*, i., f. 3, in Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, ii. 359–366.

[2] *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 657. *Cf.* treatise on Ireland, attributed to Gerrard, in *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 2nd Rep., App. 40*a* (*Calthorpe MSS.*).

on the other hand, must be subdued by the sword, unless they had so far degenerated as to be hardly distinguishable from the native Irish in habits and speech. Then they were to be won back to the English manners they had lost by the exercise of severe justice—a policy more effective than the sword, and far less costly to the Queen.

The Lord Chancellor deprecated further acquisition of territory until these traitorous English were crushed, for, as he quaintly put it, it would be 'as it were to suffer the parts nigher home to burn and to seek to quench a fire far off.' This was also the policy disclosed by a study of the records of the country, which, when used by the learned and discreet, though they may at first seem to be 'blunt weapons or dumb rolls or papers, as it pleaseth some to term them, they will be found armours of proof to defend the English from all Irish plots.'

Gerrard's report, which occupies ninety folios, is followed by copies of various historical and legal documents ranging in date from the reign of Henry III to his own times.[1] The first in order is Henry VIII's instructions to Skevington, which includes a brief account of the state of the country; after this there are copies of numerous records relative to the various offices of the Crown in Ireland—chiefly letters patent; and, finally, extracts of a more general character—extents, charters, the famous Statute of Kilkenny, subsidy assessments, and records of privileges granted away, and of revenues still due to the English Sovereign. All these copies were compared with the originals at Walsingham's direction.[2] As for the report itself, which was based upon this imposing array of evidence, Gerrard's main contention was that Ireland had once been prosperous, well governed, and profitable to the Crown, but now it was become a burden in spite of the great fertility of the soil, and the Irish lived in misery and poverty. After general reflections on the condition of the country and the best methods of restoring order, he plunges into a minute

[1] ff. 90–160.

[2] *Acts of P.C.*, x. 235, 236.

examination of Irish finance, parliamentary subsidies, and the royal prerogatives. He discriminates between various military charges levied upon the English shires ; the different kinds of ' cess ' levied for the support of the army and the officers of State, and the financial state of each province.[1] He also examines the general ' griefs and disorders ' of the people. This is followed by an account of the judicial system from the time of Henry III, with particulars of the ' fruits of justice,' tolls, and aids, and such like legal rights, from which the Queen could draw profit. Finally, it was shown that by a more thorough administration of justice and by reforming the arbitrary methods of gathering these revenues along with a wiser expenditure, the steady decline in the royal revenues could effectively be checked. However, the suggested reforms were not carried out, and the frustration of another attempt to reorganise the financial system, made seven years later by Sir John Perrot, was one of the effective causes of the failure of his administration and his fall.

Under the later Tudors, the hostility of both classes of Irish towards the English rule led to the diminution of family quarrels and the merging of lesser interests in defence of their lands against the systematic confiscations of Elizabeth's government. Their common interests in time produced some kind of a national consciousness. Side by side with this change went the extension of Papal influence and a revival of religion under the leaders of the Counter-Reformation, and Spain's interference in Irish affairs. All these forces were at work in the three great rebellions of the reign. In connexion with the first, the rising under Shane O'Neill, there are in the Bodleian particulars of the extraordinary charges incurred in the wars

[1] He was assisted in his historical investigations into the origin of cess by Sidney (*D.N.B.* xxi. 226–7). According to this article, at the instigation of the Viceroy's council, Gerrard drew up a report on the state of the country and proposals for reform in 1577, which were placed before the Privy Council. It is possible that the Bodleian manuscript is an elaboration of this earlier report.

during the years 1560–1561 ;[1] a long petition of the Lower House of the Irish Parliament in 1569 for an Act declaring O'Neill a traitor and his possessions confiscate ;[2] while several of the Fitzwilliam Papers of the year 1562 relate to the O'Neill's submission and petition to Elizabeth.[3]

The Fitzwilliam Papers are by far the most important of the Irish collections at Oxford, and are contained in four large volumes among the Carte MSS.[4] Sir William Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland during the temporary absence of the Earl of Sussex in 1560, and from that date until his retirement in 1594, except for an interval of twelve years, 1576–1588, and a few briefer intervals, he acted as deputy five times and held high judicial or administrative posts in the Irish Government.[5] His papers are therefore invaluable for a complete account of the two great rebellions which took place during this period, as well as being essential for a proper account of Tudor Ireland. These papers were acquired by the Duke of Ormonde from the Earl of Fitzwilliam for the memorial which he wished Sir Robert Southwell to write, vindicating the loyalty of his family. They afterwards passed into the hands of Thomas Carte, who gave them to the Bodleian Library together with the portion of the Ormonde Papers now at Oxford.[6] The contents of these volumes may be roughly divided into three classes : firstly,

[1] *MS. Rawlinson*, A. 237, ff. 37–40.

[2] *MS. Engl. Hist.* C. 34. This petition, which is incomplete and undated, is written on two very large sheets of parchment. It traces the history of the rebellion from the creation of O'Neill's father Earl of Tyrone by Henry VIII, to its suppression by Sir Henry Sidney, along with an historical disquisition on the conquests of Ireland from the remotest times, in support of the title of the English sovereigns to that kingdom.

[3] See *MS. Carte*, 58.

[4] *MSS. Carte*, 55–58. There are also some *Fitzwilliam Papers* extending over the years 1561–1575 in *MS. Carte*, 131. See the manuscript *Cal. of Carte Papers* in the Bodleian.

[5] *D.N.B.*, xix. 232–5. Mr. R. Dunlop, the writer of this article and of the article on Ireland in the *Cambridge Modern History*, iii., has used the *Fitzwilliam Papers*.

[6] Russell and Prendergast's report on the *Carte Papers*, 1871, p. 22.

letters from the Queen, Privy Council, and principal officers of State ; secondly, letters from the presidents and councils of Munster and Connaught, and other letters bearing on the internal affairs of Ireland ; and thirdly, copies or minutes of letters written by Fitzwilliam to Irish officials and the central Government. The letters of the first two classes naturally do not appear in the Irish Calendar, but occasionally the papers of the third class supplement the calendar. The first class is of course the largest, the number of letters from the Queen, the Secretary, and the Lord Treasurer being very great. For example, there are almost a hundred letters from the Queen alone.[1] Among them is one from Elizabeth to Fitzwilliam, dated January 9, 1560/1, notifying him of his appointment as lord justice during the Earl of Sussex's absence from Ireland.[2] Other papers of the years 1561–7 are administrative in character—such as warrants, instructions, orders for levying cess for victualling and maintaining the royal castles and the lord deputy's household ; while there are also many letters concerning shipping and piracy. Many of the Fitzwilliam Papers give fresh details of the rebellions of Shane O'Neill in 1560–2, and of his kinsman Turlogh Luineach O'Neill in 1568, during which year several reports on the state of Ulster were made by Weston and Fitzwilliam, who were then acting jointly as the Queen's justices.[3] Further, there is much information for the years 1571 and 1572, when James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, cousin to the Earl of Desmond, was at large in Munster.[4] The Irish rebellions were now becoming more formidable, for, not only had Shane previously made an alliance with the Desmonds of Munster, but there were also indications of Irish emissaries practising in France to raise a general rebellion. The names of several such persons obtained by Walsingham, at the time English ambassador at the

[1] Russell and Prendergast's introduction, *Cal. S.P. Ir.*, 1603–1606, lxiv.
[2] *MS. Carte*, 58, f. 1.
[3] *Ibid.* This volume covers the years 1561 to 1570.
[4] *Ibid.*, 57 (1569–1574).

French Court, were sent by Sir Thomas Smith to Fitzwilliam.[1] The first years of the Desmond rising are covered by two volumes of the lord deputy's papers, but for the succeeding years the letters are fewer in number, the latest being a minute of a letter from Fitzwilliam to the Privy Council, dated February 4, 1595/6.[2] In this year Fitzwilliam left Ireland for good, and died a few years later.

The Irish State Papers at the Record Office are also supplemented by another important volume at Oxford. This is a volume of 243 leaves, consisting of copies of the letters sent by Sir John Perrot into England during the first two years of his viceroyship.[3] It cannot be a letter-book or register, compiled as the letters were sent out, for the writing, ink, and spacing are uniform throughout; still, these copies were probably made as early as 1590–1600. The letters are arranged under the 'packets' of which they formed part when transmitted to England, and the date of the dispatch of each packet and the name of the bearer are given. The originals of many of the letters, of course, are now in the Record Office, and are therefore calendared; a few appear in the calendar of Carew Papers, yet the originals of many others are missing. The chief recipients are the Queen, the Privy Council, Burghley, Walsingham, and Leicester. This correspondence deals chiefly with Perrot's campaigns against Sorley Boy and his Scottish allies in Ulster, his acrid dispute with the Irish primate about the dissolution of St. Patrick's, his financial difficulties, and the project for a composition for the royal prerogative of cess within the Pale and in Connaught, and the proceedings of the Parliament which first met in April 1585.

Perrot, like many of his predecessors, aroused the enmity of both English and Irish, and had detractors in

[1] *MS. Carte*, 56, f. 131.

[2] *Ibid.*, 56 (1571–1576); 55 (1574–1596).

[3] *MS. Perrot*, 1. This volume was given to the Bodleian in 1727 by Thomas Perrot, of St. John's College, Oxford. It is mentioned in the Report on Public Records, 1800, p. 348. On the outside of the binding is written in a contemporary hand 'The letters of Sr. John Perrott, ld. deputye of Irelande, to the Queene and her cheife ministers of State.'

England who caused his policy to be severely criticised by the Queen and the Privy Council. He wrote long letters defending his actions and complaining of the wickedness of his enemies, yet praying for his recall from this uncongenial land, where his slender revenues made impossible the success of his statesmanlike schemes of reform. He was finally recalled and disgraced. Moreover, charges were brought against him of treasonable correspondence with Parma, the King of Spain, and the Irish rebels, and he was alleged to have used contemptuous words against his Sovereign lady, the Queen's Majesty. The various articles objected against him and his arraignment were copied by Rawlinson, who edited a contemporary life of this unfortunate viceroy.[1]

As for Tyrone's—the last and most dangerous of the rebellions—some details of the number and equipment of the English army and the general military system in Ireland may be gathered from the accounts kept by two merchants who had the contract for apparelling the troops from March 1, 1598/9 to March 31, 1600.[2] It ought also to be noted that there is a contemporary copy of the important letter sent by Elizabeth, October 14, 1599, rebuking Essex and his council for frittering away the summer in 'petty undertakings' instead of attacking Tyrone.[3]

[1] *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 1031, *cf. MS. Lansdowne*, 72, art. 8, and *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 3rd Rep., Ap. pp. 51, 367. The life of Perrot was printed by Rawlinson in 1728 from an original MS. by an unknown author, written about the end of Elizabeth's reign. He obtained the MS. from Ireland and returned it thither when he had finished with it (*vide* Rawlinson's preface).

[2] *MS. Rawlinson*, D. 754. *Cf. P.R.O. Declared Accounts*, Pipe Office, Army (contractors), Nos. 165–8, and 'Early Army Accounts,' by Hubert Hall in the *Antiquary*, August 1880. The captain of each company or footband of 100 men was given a lump sum, according to the weeks of service. Lists of these captains are given here, also the captains of 'Wardens' raised to protect the crops.

[3] *MS. Engl. Hist.*, C. 34 (p. 11). The version printed in the *Cal. S.P. (Ireland)*, 1599–1600, pp. 150–153, is dated Nonsuch, Sept. 14, 1599, and has many different readings—some important ones. They are not always to be preferred, *e.g. Cal. S.P.*: 'ex jure proprio judicarie'; *Bodl. MS.*: 'ex ore proprio iudicare.' In this volume (p. 13) there is a copy of the

Many details of the normal administration in Ireland may be gathered from the accounts of the Treasurer and Receiver. There are two volumes of this nature in the Rawlinson collection: one for the eighteen months ending Michaelmas 1560, kept by Sir William Fitzwilliam,[1] the other for the years 1588–1591, during the treasurership of Sir Henry Wallop.[2] They show yield of the Crown lands, the farms of monastic property, and the revenues from the ports, as well as the large expenditure on the stipends and fees of the various legal, administrative, and ceremonial officials; the cost of maintaining the soldiers, and the numbers in receipt of pay during years of normal peacefulness.

Relative to the Irish Parliament, besides the petition already mentioned, there is an Act passed after the suppression of O'Neill's rebellion, granting to the Queen a subsidy of 13*s.* 4*d.* upon all plough-lands for ten years after September 30, 1566, as a mark of their gratitude and in consideration of the 'infinite masses of treasure' she and her progenitors had spent in laying waste their land.[3] The same Parliament also passed an Act in favour of the merchant staplers of Ireland.[4] The most interesting document in this connexion, however, is a portion of the Lords' Journals of the Irish Parliament of 1585–1586.[5]

opinion of a council of war, dated August 21, 1599, Dublin Castle (*Cal. S.P. Ireland*, 1599–1600, pp. 126–7), to which is annexed a list of provinces, number of counties, size, etc., and their calculated yield by taxation, if reconciled to the Queen.

[1] *MS. Rawlinson*, A. 237. There are also some entries for the years 1561 and 1562. This is said to be a copy of a volume in the Paper Office, indorsed in golden letters 'Ireland 1560,' of which the original contained 194 pages. I have been unable to trace this original in the calendars of *Irish State Papers* or the *Lists and Indexes* published by the Record Office.

[2] *MS. Rawlinson*, A. 317 (a very large original volume of 384 ff., being the fifth ledger of his accounts).

[3] *MS. Engl. Hist.* C. 34, p. 7 (a large piece of parchment cut at the bottom like an indenture).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[5] *MS. Carte*, 61, ff. 1–7, which I have printed in *Engl. Hist. Review*, January 1914, pp. 104–17.

This is the earliest extant official journal of either House.

There were no religious martyrdoms in Ireland in the sixteenth century until Elizabeth's reign. The religious changes previously affected only the Pale, and there they meant little more than the displacing or reinstating of a few prelates. But after the commencement of the second Jesuit mission, and the linking of the Roman cause with that of the Irish rebels, Catholic bishops were deprived, imprisoned, and executed. Of these persecutions by the Government some account is given in annals compiled by a Roman Catholic, towards the end of the reign.[1] They commence in 1460, with extracts from the ancient annals of the country, and continue, with many gaps, as far as 1591. The most important entry is an account of the trial, torture, and execution in 1583 of Dermod O'Hurley, the Catholic Archbishop of Cashel. It differs in many points of detail from the contemporary accounts quoted by Bagwell.[2]

The economic changes of the sixteenth century are almost equally great as its political revolutions. For the great influx of the precious metals accompanied a great development in commerce, which reacted upon the monetary systems of western Europe. In England, however, the question was complicated by the disastrous debasements of the coinage during the last years of Henry VIII's reign and that of his son. When Elizabeth restored the coinage to its former fineness, though fortunately not to its former weight, the problem of the true relation of gold to silver in the bimetallic system of England, and of English coin to that of neighbouring countries, was by no means finally solved. In various tracts, treatises, and letters, which for the most part survive in manuscript in the British Museum, in addition to a few in Bodley's Library at Oxford, this

[1] *MS. Rawlinson*, B. 479, ff. 94–102. A marginal note says that it was ' olim inter codd. Jac. Waraei 52 ; postea comitis de Clarendon 6.'

[2] Bagwell, ***Ireland under the Tudors***, iii. 117–8, and 118 *note*.

important question was painfully argued by statesmen, mint officials, and merchants, throughout the whole of Elizabeth's reign.[1] In the following century, however, these controversial tracts developed into the larger literature of the theorists of the mercantile system.

Two curious financial projects were laid before Elizabeth, both having primarily charitable objects. The first was that of John Yonge,[2] who described his book, which was dedicated to the Queen in the first year of her reign, as the present of a poor man with a good will and in the hope that it will be of permanent benefit to herself, her successors, and the whole commonwealth. He proposed that the 'mortuaries,' the best of live cattle or movables of a dead man—formerly given to the parson, but abolished by Henry VIII—should be revived in a new form. The best article of a deceased man's apparel was to be sold by auction by the churchwardens of the parish, and the receipts recorded and delivered to the officers of a common bank. The large sum thus accumulated was to be lent out at interest (6 per cent. or under) to needy people. From the same store the Queen could also borrow at the same rate of interest in time of great financial difficulty, and even for reforming the currency, then in such a bad state. She was urged to accept payment of debts by her subjects in bills on the bank in order to encourage men to place money in it. A lottery of the kind existing in foreign countries was also to be set up. In conclusion, the author asks the Queen carefully to consider the scheme, and thereby to remove the taunt of foreigners that Englishmen only look to the present and not to the future. Thomas Lupton, a Puritan miscellaneous writer, desired Elizabeth to set on foot a collection for certain charitable and public objects, to be

[1] The writer of this paper is preparing a monograph dealing with these treatises.

[2] *MS. Laud. Misc.* 683, ff. 128–148. The treatise is written in a neat sixteenth-century bookhand, with red border-lines and red lines between the lines of writing.

taken throughout the kingdom.[1] After describing methods of collecting and recording contributions, Lupton mentions incidentally that this example of charity will silence the Papists, against whom he used many abusive epithets. But it is to the diverse objects to which he proposed to devote this charitable collection that most interest attaches: for the repair of sea banks in Lincoln and Norfolk, damaged by the winter storms, and the relief of the distress which had been caused by the disorganisation of industries there; the reconstruction of stone bridges in the eastern counties, destroyed by the floods; the relief of the poor in most of the great towns and market towns of the country by gifts of wood and coals to the poorest, loans to needy artificers, and annual sums to be given to poor apprentices;[2] provision for poor prisoners and help for them when set at liberty; and the relief of maimed soldiers and their families. Money was also to be devoted to ransoming Englishmen who still remained in the hands of the Turks, after those ransomed by means of a previous collection among London merchants. Grammar schools were to be endowed in certain towns, with provision for small prizes for the most diligent and the most obedient scholars. Lupton anticipated that £20,000 would be raised, and he apportions this sum to the various objects, naming the towns to benefit under the scheme. He was a crank, as an examination of the list of his multifarious works will show;[3] still, the scheme is not unworthy of notice as showing that in an age of wars and the deepest political chicanery, of conspiracies and

[1] *MS. Jones*, 17. This manuscript is not mentioned in *D.N.B.*, xxxix, 287–8, among the very miscellaneous works of Thomas Lupton. In this article the only facts given about his life are that he was a Puritan and alive in 1583. If any inference may be drawn from the work now under consideration, it would seem that he was most likely a Lincolnshire man and interested in the cloth industry.

[2] *Cf.* benefactions for providing gratuitous loans to young apprentices, mentioned in Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, Modern Times, pt. i. p. 145.

[3] See *D.N.B.*, *loc. cit.*

persecutions, social needs and duties were also realised and seriously discussed.

Shortly after Elizabeth's succession and the final establishment of the new religion, the fraternity of the Poor Knights of Windsor was founded. In the Bodleian Library there is a contemporary copy of the bipartite indenture of endowment of August 30, 1559, and the statutes and orders made for them by Elizabeth.[1] Besides its charitable character this foundation had some of the features of the old religious corporations, the statutes stipulating celibacy and the performance of religious services. About 1581, by the will of Sir William Cordell and by virtue of letters patent, the hospital of the Blessed Trinity was founded at Long Melford in Suffolk. Here a warden and twelve poor men, chosen from the parish, were to pray for the peace and tranquillity of all Christian people and the Queen and her heirs and successors.[2] The difference between these two fraternities and those which the legislation of Henry VIII and Edward VI had suppressed is so slight that it would be valuable to know how many were established during the reign. Detailed information of parochial affairs during this period may be gathered from three original parish registers, and a volume of churchwardens' accounts.[3]

Information, of a somewhat different kind, as to the religious sentiments of humble folk may be gathered from the declaration of the mad son of a Manchester carpenter given before the Earl of Bedford and others, June 18, 1562.[4]

[1] *MS. Jones*, 17, ff. 201–9. One part of the original is in the Record Office Museum (G. 70). See also *State Papers, Dom., Eliz.*, v. 5 (a letter from the Queen to the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, July 15, 1559).

[2] *Ibid.*, ff. 259–263. These are the orders and rules drawn up by Burghley, the Bishops of London and Norwich, and others. Notes of the lands left by Cordell on behalf of the hospital 'lately' erected in Suffolk are dated *circa* 1581 (?) in *Cal. S.P. Dom.* (1581–1590), p. 37.

[3] See Summary Catalogue of Western MSS., nos. 29152, 29293, 30706; *MS. Corpus Christi College*, cclxxi. (Churchwardens' Accounts, 1541–1656, Oldstock, co. Hants).

[4] *MS. Tanner*, 50, ff. 16–17. These leaves were formerly pp. 28–30 of some volume—perhaps part of a register of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who apparently conducted this inquiry.

He claimed to have seen God in visions while leading a vicious worldly life as a prosperous draper, and said that he was commanded to write the messages which should be put into his head by the Holy Ghost. He affirmed further that he had been absent from the earth for two nights and one day, during which time no one had seen him. His miraculous powers, however, could not prevent him from being put in the pillory in Cheape, January 26 [1562/3], with the label, 'For seducinge the people by publyshynge fallce revelacions.' Apart from its humour, this manuscript seems to be significant: firstly, as an early indication of the spirit of Puritanism, its abhorrence of sin, and its self-torturing of the mind; and secondly, as showing how soon the language of the translations of the Bible had seized the minds of humble folk, its phrases coming readily to their lips.

A third manuscript, dealing with ecclesiastical affairs, is only of minor importance. It is a chronicle of Lichfield Church, beginning with Adam and continuing with redactions of the Anglo-Saxon and mediæval chronicles to 1559.[1] For the Tudor period it is merely a list of holders of the see, with some biographical notes and a brief estimate of their rule. The author was William Whitlock, Canon of Lichfield.

As for local history, an important manuscript is a volume containing a chronicle of the city of York.[2] It commences with a general account of the nature of islands and continents, followed by the legendary Brut history and accounts of the early Archbishops of York. The annals of the city, headed each year by the names of the mayor and sheriffs, are carried down to the year 1631.

[1] *MS. Ashmole*, 770, ff. 1–50. Black's catalogue mentions two other less complete MSS. of this chronicle: (1) *B.M. Cottonian MS. Vesp. E.* xvi. art. 2; (2) a MS. in the possession of Dean Addison when Wharton published his *Anglia Sacra*.

[2] *MS. Rawlinson*, C. 886, pp. 1–209. It is all written in the same hand —an untidy scrawl, differing little in character from the usual sixteenth-century hand. It was probably compiled about the date of the last entry, and perhaps written by an old man.

During the period 1547–1603, which occupies thirty-one pages, the historical notices are fairly full, as for example a brief narrative of the rebellion of the earls under the year 1569. The original portmoot book of Woodstock for the period October 1, 1593, to December 8, 1597, is in the Bodleian, but it is a purely formal record.[1] The Court was held usually twice a month, with an interval of fourteen days between the two Courts. Lastly, there is a letter from the bailiff and jurats of the Isle of Guernsey to the Privy Council about the assessment of a contribution to the charges of Government, together with two papers dealing with the payments on behalf of garrisons and estimates for victualling of soldiers in the Isles of Guernsey and Jersey during the early part of the year 1597.[2]

APPENDIX I[3]

Princess Elizabeth to Protector Somerset

My Lorde I have reseved your gentil letter and also your message by Master Tirwit for the wiche two thinges especially (although for manye other thinges) I can not give your Lordeshipe souficiente thankes, and whereas your grace doth wil me to credit Master Tirwit I have done so, and wil do so as longe as he willeth me (as he doth[4]) to nothinge but to that wiche is for mine honor, and honestie, and even as I sayd to him, and did write to your Lordship, so I do write now againe that whan there doeth any more thinges hapen in my minde wiche I have forgotten I assure your grace I wil declare them most willingelye for I wolde not (as I truste you have not) so yvel a[n] oppinion of me that I wolde concile any thinge that I knewe, for it wher

[1] *MS. Top. Oxon*, d. 47.
[2] *MS. Engl. Hist.*, C. 24, pp. 173, 183–185.
[3] *MS. Ashmole*, 1729, f. 6.
[4] 'Not' cancelled.

to no purpos and surely forgetfulnis may wel cause me to hide thinges, but undoutedly els I wil declare al that I knowe. From Hatfelde the 6 of Februarye.

Your assured frende to my litel power,

ELIZABETH.[1]

APPENDIX II[2]

My good lord I received all your lettres almost at once, the last by this beror this morning, the other yesternight. I thank you, my dere good lord, for both, and they ar full of comfort to your sorrofull frendes, but yet I trust we do take the handyworke of the Lord as we ought, even as his crosse and ponyshment for our synnes; for so, and xx times more yf yt may be, have we deserved, but the Lord ys mercyfull and we call for grace to knowe him bettre, and yet to ley our hope and burden uppon our savyour Christ Jesus. We had no wyll, good lord, to imparte these heavy newes unto you. We knew they shuld come to sone knowing your harty love to us. I trust to be at court ii or iii days before your lordships d[elive]ry (?,) you shall be welcom in the best hart to me. Your syster comends hir most hartyly to you. We ar now going to preys, and doth take the Lords vyssytacion very dewtyfully. The Queen's Majestie hath delt with me in this tyme most gracyously. I pray God once torn hir favour to the comfort of my companion also. Fare well my good lord. At my cousen, Charles Morysons, this first of August.

Your l[ordship's] assured,

R. LEYCESTER.

[Postscript.] For your forain [?] matters I leave tyll I speak with you. Ther is no great matter to you, I perceave in yt.

[Endorsed.] To my very good lord, my lord North, 2 August [15]84.

[1] Endorsements: (i) In Elizabeth's hand: 'To my verey good Lorde my Lorde Protector.' (ii) In another contemporary hand? 'The Lady Elizabeth vi° Februarii 1548[/9] to my L.P.'

[2] *MS. Douce*, 393, f. 24. 1584, Aug. 1.

APPENDIX III [1]

My very good lord, bycause this beror my cousen your sonne ys able to make report to you of all thinges I wyll the lesse trouble you at this tyme, but with my veary harty commendacions wyshing your lordship good health and long lyfe. As for newes here be none worth the wryting. So I bed your lordship farewell. At the court this xiii Decembre.

Your lordships assured cou[sen] and frend,

R. Leycester.

[Postscript.] Albeyt ther hath some sepches past from the Queens Majestie to my cousen your sonne which troubled him, yet doe I fynd Her Majestie to contynewe her good opinion toward you of your fidellyty, and hit shalbe good for your lordship to satysfie such points as he may tell you of, by your ernest letters to Her Majestie.

[No endorsement.]

[1] ——Dec. 13. *MS. Douce*, 393, f. 26. This appears to be an incomplete letter, as at the head of the single leaf on which it is written is the figure 3.

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL, SESSION 1912–1913.

THE Council of the Royal Historical Society present their Annual Report to the General Meeting of the Fellows, as follows.

The great event of the past Session was the Quinquennial Historical Congress, held in London from April 2 to April 9. The British Academy had invited the Congress at Berlin in 1908 to re-assemble in London in 1913. The final arrangements were completed by a Reference Committee, on which the Council of the Royal Historical Society was strongly represented. The Grafton Galleries were the headquarters of the Congress. The Society's Rooms were open during the week to Members of the Congress, and furnished with foreign newspapers and magazines. The Society took the lead in welcoming the foreign Delegates to the Congress by a dinner at the Holborn Restaurant, on April 1. Professor Firth, the President, was in the Chair. One hundred and seventy-seven guests and Fellows attended, and interesting speeches were delivered by the President, Professor E. Meyer, M. Cordier, Professor Haskins, and by Dr. Prothero. On April 6 the Society entertained the Delegates to tea in their Rooms. About ninety guests assembled.

Many papers of great merit were read in the various Sections of the Congress, but want of funds, and the bespeaking of several papers for various historical publications, made it impossible to print the whole of the addresses in full. The Government entertained the Congress to dinner at the Hotel Cecil, and His Majesty the King invited five hundred delegates to Windsor. Owing to the President of the Congress—the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M., Hon.V.Pr.R.Hist.S.—being detained by diplomatic business in America, the duties of

the Presidency were taken over, and most ably discharged, by Sir A. W. Ward, Hon.V.Pr.R.Hist.S. It was resolved that the next meeting (1918) should take place at St. Petersburg. After the Congress a number of distinguished foreign scholars were elected Corresponding Members of the Royal Historical Society, and honoured the Society by their acceptance of the position.

The ordinary work of the Society has proceeded as usual. The most noticeable feature of the year has been the growth of the Library, through the continued kindness of Dr. Prothero in presenting books, and from other gifts. Attention of the Fellows must be drawn to the rule, announced before, that gifts of books must be submitted first to the Library Committee. Considerations of space and suitability make it impossible to accept every kind of book which the kindness of donors, Fellows or others, may offer. The Society has received as a legacy many hundred MS. genealogies from the late Mr. D. R. C. Robinson, of the War Office, which have been placed in cases in the Library; and Professor Jablonowski, of Warsaw, one of the delegates to the Historical Congress, now a Corresponding Member of the Society, presented the Historical Maps of Poland, which he has prepared and published.

The Joint Committee of Fellows of the Royal Historical Society and of American Scholars for the preparation of a Bibliography of Modern British History is continuing its labours. The second contribution of £50 by the Society to the necessary expenses has been paid.

A catalogue of the Library is approaching completion, and will shortly be printed and distributed to Fellows.

The question of space is becoming urgent. The Library has, in fact, already outgrown the present accommodation, and, though the Society is flourishing financially, any extension of space by taking new rooms in addition to the present, or by renting a house, will entail great expense. It is, therefore, necessary to keep up, and to increase, the number of Fellows, due regard being paid to the academic or literary qualifications of candidates proposed. The Council would be glad to include in the Society any candidates of historical training or of literary attainments who are studying history seriously, or teaching it effectively; but they cannot too decidedly intimate that Fellowship is not to be had for the

asking by persons, however meritorious in other ways, who do not fulfil these conditions.

By death the Society has lost, since the issue of the last Report, two Hon. Vice-Presidents of great distinction—Lord Avebury; and Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, author of 'Italy and her Invaders,' and of other works. The Society has also lost an old and valued Member of the Council, who last year became a Vice-President—Mr. I. S. Leadam. They wish to put on record their great regret on personal grounds, their sympathy with Mr. Leadam's family, and their sense of the loss to historical studies of a scholar who had by no means exhausted his capacities for service to their cause. Mr. Leadam's chief contribution to the publications of the Society was in 'The Domesday of Enclosures, 1517-18,' issued in 1897.

The Council also record with regret the deaths of Mr. L. C. Alexander, who founded the Alexander Medal awarded annually for an historical dissertation; Mr. R. Duppa Lloyd, for long an Auditor of the Society; the Earl of Pembroke; the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres; and the Marquis of Northampton.

At the ordinary meetings, in the Society's Library, the following Papers were read:—

'The Development of the Study of Seventeenth-Century History.' By Professor C. H. Firth, LL.D., F.B.A., President (1913). (May 15, 1913.)

'England and the Polish-Saxon Problem at the Congress of Vienna.' By C. K. Webster, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (March 13, 1913.)

'Castlereagh's Instructions for the Conferences at Verona, 1822.' By J. E. S. Green, M.A., F.R.Hist.S. (December 19, 1910.)

'The Pedigree of Earl Godwin.' By Alfred Anscombe, F.R.Hist.S. (March 19, 1913.)

'Some Mercenaries of Henry of Lancaster, 1327-1330.' By V. B. Redstone, F.R.Hist.S. (April 17, 1913.)

'Side-lights upon the Assessment and Collection of the Mediæval Subsidies.' By Professor J. F. Willard, Ph.D. (June 19, 1913.)

'The Order of the Holy Cross (Crutched Friars) in England.' By Egerton Beck, M.A., F.S.A.Scot. (November 21, 1912.)

At the Annual Meeting the President, the Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham, D.D., LL.D., F.B.A., delivered an address on 'The Guildry and Trade Incorporations in Scottish Towns,' February 20, 1913.

The above Papers have been printed in *Transactions*, Third Series, Vol. VII.

The Alexander Medal for 1912 was not awarded.

In addition to the above volume of *Transactions*, the following volumes of *Publications* were issued to Fellows and subscribing Libraries since the date of the last Report:

Camden, Third Series, Vol. XXII. 'The Official Diary of Lieut.-General Adam Williamson, Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower of London, 1722-1747,' edited by John Charles Fox, F.R.Hist.S., Master of the Supreme Court of Judicature.

Camden, Third Series, Vol. XXIII. 'English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries, 1586-1594.' By Miss L. de Alberti and Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman, D.Sc.

Camden, Third Series, Vol. XXIV. 'The Essex Papers, 1675-1677,' edited by the Rev. Clement E. Pike, F.R.Hist.S.

The publications of the Society in active preparation include 'Sir Joseph Williamson's Minute Book of the Committee of Foreign Affairs'; 'The Secret Service under George III.'; 'The Novgorod Chronicle' (translated from the Russian text); and 'The Nicholas Papers,' Vol. IV. (Camden N.S., vol. lxiii).

Archdeacon Cunningham, D.D., LL.D., having completed his four years' term, retired from the Presidency. Professor Firth, LL.D., Litt.D., was elected President.

The Council wish to record their hearty thanks to Archdeacon Cunningham for his services as President, and constant attendance in spite of many calls upon his time.

In accordance with By-law XVII. the following Vice-Presidents retired in rotation: H. E. Malden, M.A., and the Rev. W. Hunt, D.Litt.

Mr. Malden was re-elected, and the Rev. W. Hunt was elected an Honorary Vice-President. Professor C. W. C. Oman, F.S.A., was elected an Honorary Vice-President, and the Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham, D.D., and Mr. I. S. Leadam, M.A., F.S.A., were elected Vice-Presidents.

The following members of the Council retired also under By-law XVII., and were re-elected, with the exception of Mr. Stanley Leathes, who resigned:

Sir Sidney Lee, Litt.D.; Stanley Leathes, M.A.; C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A.; R. A. Roberts.

Professor Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D., Mr. A. G. Little, M.A., and Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, M.A., were also elected members of Council.

The Secretary reports that the total membership of the

Society on October 31, 1913, including Honorary, Corresponding, Life, and Ordinary Fellows, and Subscribing Libraries, was 725. Of this number 17 were Honorary Fellows, 27 were Corresponding Members, and 86 were Life Fellows. The annual subscriptions are received from Ordinary Fellows paying £1 1*s.* under the old regulations; former members of the old Camden Society and Subscribing Libraries paying £1; and Fellows paying the statutory subscription of £2 2*s.* There are 61 British and Foreign Societies which exchange *Transactions* with the Royal Historical Society.

The Treasurer reports that the balance of Income over Expenditure for the year was £73 3*s.* 7*d.* This is somewhat smaller than usual, but there were two items of extraordinary expenditure amounting to £112 11*s.* 6*d.*—namely, a subscription (the first of three sums of £50 each) voted to the Bibliography of Modern British History Fund, and the expenses connected with the International Historical Congress early in 1913, being the cost of entertaining the Delegates at dinner, and also providing for a reception and accommodation during the week of the Congress at the Headquarters of the Society at South Square, altogether £62 11*s.* 6*d.*

The Auditors report that they have examined the statement of Income and Expenditure, together with the Balance Sheet appended to this Report, and have certified the same to be correct from their inspection of the books and vouchers.

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

I.—Income and Expenditure Account relating to the Year ending October 31, 1913.

Income.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions of 1911: 1 at 20*s.* £1 0 0			
,, 1912 5 at 20*s.* 5 0 0			
,, ,, 11 at 42*s.* 23 2 0			
£29 2 0			
Less amount estimated to be received in last year's accounts for subscriptions in arrear . 8 8 0			
Subscriptions in arrear, received in excess of estimate	20	14	0
Subscriptions now in arrear estimated to be received	20	10	0
Subscriptions of 1913: 221 at 20*s.* . . . 221 0 0			
,, ,, 37 at 21*s.* . . . 38 17 0			
,, ,, 323 at 42*s.* . . . 678 6 0			
	938	3	0
Life subscriptions: 4 at £21 . . . . . 84 0 0			
Less proportion required by By-Law IX. to be invested (see Balance-sheet) . . . 56 0 0			
	28	0	0
Dividends on Russian 4 % Bond (Alexander Trust) . .	3	14	4
,, Consols	20	0	0
,, India 3½ % Stock	19	15	8
,, Canada 3½ % Stock	9	17	10
Interest on Deposit Account at Bank	10	10	7
Historical Association: Rent of rooms (5 quarters) . .	6	5	0
Sundry small receipts	1	0	3
	£1,078	10	8

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
Publications: Printing and Distributing £368 12 4			
Editing and Indexing . . 18 18 0			
£387 10 4			
Less received from Sales . 36 6 0			
	351	4	4
Salaries of Director and Assistant Secretary and travelling expenses of Hon. Secretary	232	0	0
Rent of Offices	120	0	0
Coal	2	10	0
Electric Light	1	8	9
Rates	41	19	3
General Printing and Stationery	48	18	3
Library: Books, Periodicals, and Binding . . .	22	18	6
Postages, &c.	20	18	0
Sundries (Petty Cash payments)	36	2	5
Advertising	4	4	6
Insurance	2	10	0
Bibliography of Modern British History Fund: 1st yearly subscription	50	0	0
Monthly Meetings (cost of Refreshments) . . .	8	1	7
Historical Congress: cost of Dinner to Delegates, including printing, &c. . . £85 5 7			
Less received for tickets . . . 36 2 0			
Net cost of dinner 49 3 7			
Reception and accommodation for the week at South Square . . . 13 7 11			
	62	11	6
	1,005	7	1
Balance, being excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ending October 31, 1913, carried to Balance-sheet	73	3	7
	£1,078	10	8

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

II.—Balance-sheet of Liabilities and Assets at October 31, 1913.

Liabilities.

		£	s.	d.
Life subscriptions required to be invested as Capital Account (By-Law IX.): amount brought forward from last Balance-sheet	£1,178 0 0			
Proportion of Life subscriptions received in 1913 (see Income and Expenditure Account)	56 0 0			
		1,234	0	0
Represented by Consols, India 3½% Stock, Canada 3½% Stock, and Cash on Deposit—see *contra*]				
Alexander Trust Fund [Russian 4% Bond—see *contra*]		98	17	6
Subscriptions received in advance		22	18	0
Balance, being surplus of Assets over Liabilities at date Viz.—Amount brought forward from last year	£2,911 4 8	2,984	8	3
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure as shown by Income and Expenditure Account	73 3 7			
	£2,984 8 3			
		£4,340	3	9

Assets.

		£	s.	d.
Consols 2½% £849 9*s.* 9*d.* valued at		700	0	0
India 3½% Stock £600 at cost		581	3	0
Canada 3½% Stock £300 at cost		285	1	0
Russian 4% Bond		98	17	6
Cash at Bank: Current a/c	£287 19 5			
,, Deposit Account	362 11 10			
Petty Cash Balance in hand	4 1 0			
		654	12	3
Stock of Publications at 10 Gray's Inn Place (value as insured)		100	0	0
Stock of Publications with Messrs. Spottiswoode & Co. and Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son (value as insured)		500	0	0
Library (value as insured)		1,000	0	0
,, Manuscripts (value as insured)		100	0	0
Furniture, &c. ,, ,,		300	0	0
Subscriptions in arrear estimated to be received (see Income and Expenditure Account)		20	10	0
		£4,340	3	9

(*Signed*) Henry R. Tedder, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Auditors' Report.

The above Statement of Income and Expenditure and Balance-sheet have been prepared from the Books and Vouchers, and we hereby certify the same to be correct.

(*Signed*) E. M. Lloyd
J. Foster Palmer
T. Cato Worsfold
} *Auditors.*

December 4, 1913.

Royal Historical Society

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

PATRON:
HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

PRESIDENT:
Professor C. H. FIRTH, LL.D., Litt.D.

I. The Historical Society was founded in the year 1868 by the then Archbishop of York, the late Earl Russell, the late George Grote, the late Dean of Westminster, Sir John Lubbock, Bart. (the late Lord Avebury), the late Earl of Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer), and other eminent men of the day, its main objects being to promote and foster the study of History by assisting in the publication of rare and valuable documents, and by the publication from time to time of volumes of Transactions and Publications.

II. In the year 1872 the Society, through the Secretary of State (the late Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, afterwards Lord Aberdare, G.C.B., for many years President of the Society), received the official permission of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria to adopt the title Royal Historical Society. In the year 1887 Her late Majesty was pleased to become Patron of the Society, and was also pleased to cause Letters Patent, dated July 31, 1889, to be passed under the Great Seal, granting to the Society Her Majesty's Royal Charter of Incorporation. Upon His accession to the Throne His Gracious Majesty King Edward VII. was pleased to become Patron of the

Society in succession to Queen Victoria. On May 2, 1897, the Camden Society was amalgamated with the Royal Historical Society, and the Camden Series of Publications was transferred to the latter Society.

III. The Society consists of a President, Fellows, and Honorary Fellows and Corresponding Members, forming together a body, at the present time, of nearly seven hundred Members. The principal States of Europe and America, British India, and the Colonies are represented by Honorary or Corresponding Fellows.

IV. The Annual Subscription to the Society is *Two Guineas*; and at present there is no entrance fee. Fellows may, on joining the Society, or afterwards, compound for all future subscriptions upon the payment of *Twenty Guineas*. Libraries may be admitted to the Membership of the Society for the purpose of receiving its Publications on payment of an annual subscription of *One Pound*.

V. The Fellows of the Society and Subscribing Libraries in Great Britain receive gratuitously a copy of each of the Society's Transactions and Publications during the period of their subscription. It is desirable that Foreign Libraries should appoint an Agent in London to whom the Publications may be delivered for transmission.

The annual Publications of the Society include a volume of Transactions containing selected Papers read at the Society's Ordinary Meetings, together with the texts of the most valuable of the original documents which may be communicated to the Society from time

to time by historical scholars. In addition to this volume, the Council will endeavour to continue the regular production of a uniform series of Publications (in the style of the Camden Series of Publications), at the rate, if possible, of two volumes in every year. In the interests of the Membership of the Society, the Council have recently decided that the Publications of the Society shall in future be published by the Society alone, and shall be issued only to Fellows and Subscribing Libraries. Arrangements have been made by which back volumes, as far as the stock permits, can be supplied to newly elected Fellows at a moderate price.

VI. Ordinary Meetings of the Society for the reading of Papers and discussions thereon are held from November to June, on the *third* Thursday in each month, at 5 P.M. The Anniversary Meeting is held on the third Thursday in February, when the Report of the Council is presented to the Fellows, and the President delivers his Annual Address.

VII. The Library of the Society, at 6 & 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, W.C., is open to Fellows daily from 2 to 6 P.M. (Saturdays, 10 A.M. to 2 P.M.) The Library will be closed between August 15 and September 15, during Christmas week, during Easter week (for cleaning purposes), on Whit Monday and Whit Tuesday, and on His Majesty's Birthday and Coronation Day, June 24.

Books may be taken out by Fellows on signing a ticket for the same, but no Books may be kept out for a longer period than one month. Maps, MSS., and Periodicals must not be taken from the Library. Fellows are responsible for Books used or taken away

by them. No writing of any kind may be made upon Books or MSS. Owing to the limited space available for general historical literature, the Council must reserve the right to decline donations of books which may appear unsuitable.

VIII. All literary communications, proposals for Papers to be read before the Society, or for Historical documents or relics to be exhibited at the ordinary Meetings, should be addressed to the Director,

6 & 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, W.C.

All communications respecting the Library should be addressed to the Librarian,

6 & 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, W.C.

All subscriptions, unless paid by Banker's Order, should be sent to the Treasurer,

6 & 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, W.C.

The attention of Fellows is directed to By-law XI. on this subject.

Communications on all other subjects should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary,

6 & 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, W.C.

No. I.

FORM OF A CANDIDATE'S CERTIFICATE.

Certificate of Candidate for Election.

Name, ...

Title, Profession, or Occupation, ...

Residence, ...

Qualifications,

being desirous of admission into the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY, we the undersigned recommend him as a fit and proper person to be admitted as a Fellow.

Dated this ..... day of ..... 191....

..... *F.R. Hist. Soc.* — *From personal knowledge.*

..... *F.R. Hist. Soc.* — *From general knowledge (one signature required by Rule II.).*

..... *F.R. Hist. Soc.*

Proposed 191

Elected 191

Copies of this Form may be obtained on application to THE HON. SECRETARY, *6 & 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, W.C.*

No. II.

A VOTE by ballot, when necessary, shall be conducted in the usual manner, and the Secretary shall cause Voting Papers to be prepared for that purpose in the following form :—

VOTING PAPER.

Election held . . . . 19 .....

Candidates for the office of President:	1.	.....
	2.	.....
	Retiring Vice-Presidents who offer themselves for re-election.	
	1.	.....
Vice-Presidents:	2.	.....
	Candidates nominated under Rule XVIII.	
	3.	
	4.	.....
	Retiring Members who offer themselves for re-election:	
	1.	.....
	2.	
	3.	.....
	4.	
For the Council:	**Candidates nominated under Rule XVIII.**	
	5.	.....
	6.	
	7.	.....
	8.	.....

Fellows shall record their votes by putting a cross against the names of the Candidates in whose favour they wish to vote. If any Fellow shall record his vote for more Candidates than there are vacancies, his Voting Paper shall be void.

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Victoria, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, TO ALL TO WHOM these Presents shall come, Greeting;

WHEREAS Our right trusty and well beloved Councillor, Henry Austin, Baron Aberdare, Knight Grand Cross of Our most Honourable Order of the Bath, Fellow of the Royal Society, has by his Petition humbly represented unto Us, That in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, His Grace the Archbishop of York, the late Right Honourable John, Earl Russell, K.G., F.R.S., the late Very Reverend the Dean of Westminster, Sir John Lubbock, Baronet, the late Sir John Bowring, LL.D., Sir Roundell Palmer, Q.C., M.P., D.C.L., now Earl of Selborne, the late George Grote, Esquire, F.R.S., and others of Our subjects formed themselves into a Society known as the Historical Society of Great Britain, having for its object the promotion of the study of History;

AND WHEREAS We were pleased in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two to permit the said Society to adopt the name and title of the Royal Historical Society;

AND WHEREAS in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven We were pleased to become Patron of the said Royal Historical Society;

AND WHEREAS it has been represented to Us by the said Petitioner that the said Society has been and continues to be actively employed in promoting the object for which the said Society was founded, and has published thirteen volumes of Transactions containing original memoirs read before the Society, and did also in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six appoint a

Committee for the due celebration of the eight hundredth anniversary of the completion of the Domesday Book of His late Majesty William the First, by which Committee meetings for the reading of papers and exhibitions of Domesday Book and other manuscripts were held, and the papers read at the meetings have been published under the title of Domesday Studies, of which We have been pleased to accept the dedication, and the said Society has also published the despatches from Paris in one thousand eight hundred and two-one thousand eight hundred and three of Lord Whitworth, Ambassador of His late Majesty King George III ;

AND WHEREAS the said Society has in aid of its objects collected a Library to which additions are constantly being made, and other property ;

AND WHEREAS the said Petitioner, believing that the well-being and usefulness of the said Society would be materially promoted by its obtaining a Charter of Incorporation, hath therefore, on behalf of himself and the other Fellows of the said Society, most humbly prayed that We would be pleased to grant to those who now are, or who shall from time to time become Fellows of the said Society, Our Royal Charter of Incorporation ;

NOW KNOW YE that We, being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary, of Our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have granted, directed and declared, and by these Presents do grant, direct, and declare that the said Henry Austin, Baron Aberdare, and such others of Our loving subjects as now are Fellows of the said Royal Historical Society (hereinafter called the said Society), or as shall hereafter from time to time become under the provisions of these Presents Members of the Body Politic and Corporate by these Presents created, shall for ever hereafter be one Body Politic and Corporate by the name of the ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY ; and for the purposes aforesaid, and by the name aforesaid, shall have perpetual succession and a Common Seal, with full power and authority to alter or vary, break and renew the same at their discretion, and by the same name to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, answer and be answered in every Court of Us, Our Heirs and Successors.

AND Our will and pleasure is, that the Royal Historical Society hereby created (hereinafter called the Corporation) may, notwithstanding the Statutes of Mortmain, take, purchase, hold and enjoy to them and their successors a hall or house, and such other lands, tenements, and hereditaments as may be necessary for carrying on

the purposes of the Society, Provided that the yearly value of such lands, tenements, and hereditaments (including the said hall or house) computed at the yearly value of the same at the time of the respective purchases or acquisition thereof do not exceed in the whole the sum of Two thousand pounds sterling.

AND Our will and pleasure is, and We do hereby declare, That there shall always be a Council of the Corporation, and that the said Council shall consist of a President, not less than six Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and not less than fourteen Councillors, who shall be elected and retire in accordance with the By-laws for the time being of the Corporation, and that the present Council of the said Society shall be the first Council of the Corporation;

AND Our will and pleasure is, That the Council of the Corporation may from time to time make, revoke, alter, and amend by-laws for all or any of the following purposes, to wit:—

(*a*) Prescribing the manner in which persons may become members of the Corporation and the conditions of membership, and the rights, powers, duties, privileges, and amotion of the members of the Corporation;

(*b*) Prescribing the tenure of office by the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretary, and Councillors of the Corporation (including those hereby appointed), and the mode of electing or appointing future Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Treasurers, Secretaries and Councillors, and the rights, powers, duties, privileges, and amotion of the first and future Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Treasurers, Secretaries, and Councillors;

(*c*) With respect to the appointments, emoluments, and tenure of office of the officers and servants of the Corporation;

(*d*) The election or appointment and amotion of honorary members or Fellows of the Corporation (who may, if the by-laws so declare, be either Our subjects or foreigners, or both);

(*e*) The classes into which Members are to be admitted;

(*f*) Generally for regulating the affairs, property, business, and interests of the Corporation and its Council and Members, and making, revoking, altering, and amending by-laws and carrying out the objects of these Presents;

Provided that such by-laws shall not be valid unless and until they have been approved by a clear majority of the members of the Corporation present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose, and Provided also that if any by-law be contrary to the objects

of the Corporation, or the intent or meaning of this Our Charter, or the laws or statutes of Our Realm, the same shall be absolutely null and void.

WE do further direct and declare that the existing by-laws of the said Society shall (so far as they are applicable) apply to the Corporation, its Council, members, and affairs until by-laws made under these Presents have come into force but no longer.

WE do further by these Presents declare that it is Our will and pleasure that these Presents may be repealed, altered, amended, or added to by any Charter granted by Us, Our Heirs and Successors, at any time hereafter, and accepted by a clear majority of the members of the Corporation present at a Meeting specially summoned for the purpose.

IN WITNESS whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent. WITNESS Ourself at Westminster, the thirtieth day of July, in the fifty-third year of Our Reign.

By Warrant under the Queen's Sign Manual,

MUIR MACKENZIE. L.S.

BY-LAWS

THE BY-LAWS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Incorporated by Royal Charter).

I.—The Society shall consist of Ordinary and Honorary Fellows and Corresponding Members. The number of Honorary Fellows shall not exceed Seventy-five ; and of these not more than twenty-five shall be British subjects.

II.—Every person desirous of admission into the Society as an Ordinary Fellow must be proposed and recommended agreeably to the Form No. I. in the Appendix hereto, and such recommendation must be subscribed by two Fellows at least, one of whom must certify his personal knowledge of such candidate. The certificate thus filled up shall be delivered to the Secretary, and shall be communicated by him to the Council at their next meeting, when the election of such candidate may take place.

III.—Fellows shall be elected by the Council on the vote of two-thirds of the Members of Council present. The names of those so elected shall be announced at the next Ordinary Meeting of Fellows.

IV.—The Secretary shall send to every elected Fellow notice of his election within seven days thereafter. No election of an Ordinary Fellow shall be complete, nor shall his name be printed in the list of the Society, nor shall he be entitled to any of the privileges of a Fellow, until he shall have paid his

entrance fee (if any) and first year's subscription, or compounded for the same, as hereinafter provided; and unless these payments be made within three calendar months from the date of election, such election may be declared void by the Council.

V.—Subject to the limit fixed in Rule I., the Council shall be empowered to elect persons of distinction in historical studies as Honorary Fellows, or as Corresponding Members, who shall not be required to pay an entrance fee or annual subscription; but no persons so elected shall be entitled, except on the special vote of the Council, to receive the Publications of the Society, or to vote at meetings. The Council may also nominate distinguished Fellows of the Society to be Honorary Vice-Presidents, who shall be elected by the Fellows at the Anniversary Meeting, and shall retain the title so long as they are Fellows of the Society, provided that the number of Honorary Vice-Presidents shall not exceed twenty-five.

VI.—The Council shall also be empowered to admit Libraries as subscribers for the Publications of the Society, and to define from time to time the conditions of such admission.

VII.—If any Fellow of the Society shall so demean himself that it would be for the dishonour of the Society that he longer continue to be a Fellow thereof, the Council shall take the matter into consideration; and if two thirds of the Members of the Council present and voting at a meeting (of which and of the matter in hand such Fellow and every Member of the Council shall have due notice) shall decide by ballot to recommend that such Fellow be removed from the Society, he shall be requested to resign. If he refuse to resign, a Special Meeting of the Society shall be convened to consider the recommendation of the Council, at which meeting, or at an adjourned meeting, the question shall be decided by ballot; and if two-thirds of the Fellows present and voting agree with the recommendation of the Council the name of such Fellow shall forthwith be removed from the Roll.

VIII.—The Annual Subscription shall be Two Guineas, provided always that Fellows elected prior to the 1st of March, 1884, shall not be required to pay more than One Guinea annually, and Members of the Camden Society elected prior to the 1st March,

1895, the sum of One Pound annually. The Council shall decide from time to time whether any entrance fee shall be levied and, if so, shall fix its amount.

IX.—Fellows of the Society may at any time compound for their annual subscription by the single payment of Twenty Guineas, of which Fourteen Pounds Sterling shall be placed to the Capital Account of the Society.

X.—No Fellow shall be entitled to any of the privileges of the Society unless and until his subscriptions for the current and previous years have been paid.

XI.—Any Fellow of the Society failing to pay the subscription due for the current year on or before June 1, shall be applied to in writing by the Secretary; and if the same be not paid on or before the 31st December following, the Council shall be empowered to remove his name from the Roll; but such Fellows shall continue liable to the Society for the arrears of their subscriptions.

XII.—Every Ordinary Fellow of the Society shall, during the term of his subscription, be entitled to receive the Publications of the Society free of expense.

XIIIA.—Every Fellow of the Society shall furnish his Address, or that of his Agent or Banker, to the Secretary; and all notices or packets posted or sent to such address shall be held to be duly delivered.

XIIIB.—No dividend, gift, division or bonus in money shall be made by the Society unto or between any of its Fellows.

XIV.—Fellows shall have access to the Society's Library under such regulations as may appear to the Council necessary.

XV.—The President shall be elected by the Fellows at the Anniversary Meeting, and shall hold office for a term of four years. The past Presidents shall be ex-officio Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Society.

XVI.—The Council shall consist of the President, not less than eight Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, the Secretary, and not less than sixteen Councillors.

XVII.—The two Vice-Presidents senior on the Council Roll, and the four Councillors senior on the Council Roll, shall retire annually, but shall be re-eligible.

XVIII.—The names of Fellows to be submitted for election as Office-Bearers and Councillors shall be proposed by the Council and intimated to the Fellows at least Fifteen days before the Anniversary Meeting; but any ten Fellows of the Society may nominate Fellows to supply vacancies, such names being notified to the Secretary at least Ten days before the said Meeting. If the number of Candidates nominated as Vice-Presidents or Councillors be such as would, if all were elected, raise the number of Vice-Presidents or Councillors above eight or sixteen respectively, the Meeting shall determine the number of vacancies to be filled; and if the number of vacancies so determined for either class should be less than the number of Candidates, the elections for that class shall take place by ballot as provided in Appendix II.

XIX.—On a vacancy occurring in the office of President or other office of the Society, or in the Council, the Council shall have power to supply such vacancy until the following Anniversary Meeting.

XX.—In all Meetings of the Council five shall be a quorum, and all questions shall be decided by show of hands, unless a ballot be demanded.

XXI.—The Council shall determine the Works, Articles, and Papers to be read at the Society's Meetings, and otherwise shall arrange the business of the Society; and nothing shall be published in the name of the Society, or under its auspices, or inserted in the Society's *Transactions* or other publications, without the authority of the Council.

XXII.—The Council shall appoint any persons they deem fit to be salaried officers or clerks, for carrying on the necessary

concerns of the Society ; and shall define the duties to be performed by them respectively, and shall allow to them respectively such salaries, gratuities, and privileges as the Council may deem proper ; and may suspend or discharge any officer or clerk from office whenever there shall seem to them occasion for so doing.

XXIII.—The Meetings of the Society are of three kinds—Anniversary, Special, and Ordinary.

XXIV.—The Anniversary Meeting shall be held on the Third Thursday of February, or at such other time as the Council shall from time to time appoint. At the Anniversary Meeting the vacancies in the Council shall be filled up.

XXV.—The Council may call a Special Meeting of the Society whenever it shall be considered necessary, and shall convene a Special Meeting of the Society on a requisition to that effect being made by twenty Fellows, the date of such Meeting being fixed within one month from the receipt of the requisition.

XXVI.—A fortnight's notice, at least, of the time when, and the object for which, every Special Meeting is to be holden shall be sent to every Fellow residing in the United Kingdom ; and no other business than that of which notice has been thus given shall be entered upon or discussed at such Meeting.

XXVII.—At every Special Meeting of the Society ten Fellows shall form a quorum.

XXVIII.—The Ordinary Meetings shall be held on the third Thursday of each month, from November to June inclusive in each year, or at such other times as the Council shall determine.

XXIX.—At the Ordinary Meetings papers and communications shall be read and discussed ; but nothing relating to the regulations or management of the Society shall be brought forward

XXX.—Visitors to the Ordinary Meetings may be admitted if introduced personally by Fellows, or by their written order, under such regulations as the Council may determine.

XXXI.—Any Fellow of the Society who proposes to read a Paper at any Ordinary Meeting shall submit it for the approval of the Council, and shall state in writing whether such Paper has, in whole or in part, been previously read to any other Society, or publicly utilised in any form; but it shall rest with the Council to determine whether a Paper shall be read or utilised by the Society.

XXXII.—At all Meetings of the Society, or the Council, or the Committees thereof, the President, if present, shall be Chairman; and in his absence one of the Vice-Presidents, or, if no Vice-President be present, a Member of Council shall be elected Chairman for the occasion.

XXXIII.—In all Meetings of the Society and Council, except in the cases otherwise provided for, the decision of a majority of the Fellows voting shall be considered as the decision of the Meeting, the President or Chairman having a casting vote only.

XXXIV.—The Accounts of the Society shall be from time to time examined by the Council, who shall present, and cause to be read to the Anniversary Meeting a complete statement thereof, together with a report on the general affairs of the Society during the preceding year.

XXXV.—The Treasurer shall receive all moneys due to the Society, and on the order of the Council pay out of the moneys so received all charges on the Society's funds; he shall keep a proper account of his receipts and payments. All cheques or orders on the Treasurer's account for the payment of any sum of money above £5 must be authorised by the Council, and cheques must be signed by the Treasurer and two Members of the Council.

XXXVI.—At the last Ordinary Meeting in each session, the Fellows shall choose two Auditors, not of the Council, who, with one Auditor appointed by the Council, shall audit the Treasurer's accounts, and report thereon to the Society, which report shall be presented to the Anniversary Meeting.

Royal Historical Society.

(INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER.)

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL—1913–1914.

Patron.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

President.

PROFESSOR C. H. FIRTH, LL.D., LITT.D.

Honorary Vice-Presidents.

THE REV. J. F. BRIGHT, D.D.
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, D.C.L.
SIR C. E. H. CHADWYCK-HEALEY, K.C.B., K.C.
THE RIGHT HON. EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
THE RIGHT HON. LORD FITZMAURICE, M.A.
FREDERIC HARRISON, Litt.D.
SIR HENRY HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S.
REV. W. HUNT, D.Litt.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ILCHESTER.
PROFESSOR C. W. C. OMAN, M.A., F.S.A.
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THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY AND MIDLOTHIAN, K.T. K.G., D.C.L., LL.D.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR G. O. TREVELYAN, BT., LL.D., D.C.L., D.L.
SIR A. W. WARD, Litt.D., LL.D., Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Vice-Presidents.

SIR J. H. RAMSAY, BT., M.A.
G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., LL.D.
H. E. MALDEN, M.A.
THE VEN. ARCHDEACON CUNNINGHAM, D.D., LL.D.
OSCAR BROWNING, M.A.
HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL GASQUET, D.D.
COLONEL E. M. LLOYD, R.E.
R. A. ROBERTS.

Council.

T. Seccombe, M.A., F.S.A.
R. G. Marsden, M.A.
J. F. Chance, M.A.
Professor A. F. Pollard, M.A., Litt.D.
Professor C. Raymond Beazley, D.Litt., F.R.G.S.
The Hon. J. W. Fortescue.
Sir Sidney Lee, Litt.D.
C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A.
Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D.
A. G. Little, M.A.
H. W. V. Temperley, M.A.
William J. Corbett, M.A.
J. Holland Rose, M.A., Litt.D.
G. M. Trevelyan, M.A.
G. P. Gooch, M.A.
Basil Williams, M.A.

Honorary Secretary.

H. E. Malden, M.A.

Director.

Hubert Hall, F.S.A.

Treasurer.

H. R. Tedder, F.S.A.

Auditors.

Colonel E. M. Lloyd. J. Foster Palmer. T. C. Worsfold.

Assistant Secretary and Librarian.

Miss M. B. Curran.

Library and Offices.

6 & 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, W.C.

Bankers.

London & South Western Bank, 148 Holborn, E.C.

Royal Historical Society.

STANDING COMMITTEES—1913-1914.

Finance Committee.

J. F. Chance, M.A.
The Right Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D.
Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D.
C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A.
A. G. Little, M.A.
Colonel E. M. Lloyd, R.E.
R. G. Marsden, M.A.
R. A. Roberts.
C. H. Firth, LL.D., Litt.D., *President.*
Hubert Hall, F.S.A., *Director.*
H. R. Tedder, F.S.A., *Treasurer.*
H. E. Malden, M.A., *Hon. Sec.*

Library Committee.

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The Right Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D.
Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D.
C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A.
A. G. Little, M.A.
Colonel E. M. Lloyd, R.E.
R. G. Marsden, M.A.
Professor A. F. Pollard, M.A.
R. A. Roberts.
C. H. Firth, LL.D., Litt.D., *President.*
Hubert Hall, F.S.A., *Director.*
H. R. Tedder, F.S.A., *Treasurer.*
H. E. Malden, M.A., *Hon. Sec.*

Publication Committee.

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Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D.
C. L. Kingsford, M.A., F.S.A.
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Colonel E. M. Lloyd, R.E.
R. G. Marsden, M.A.
Professor A. F. Pollard, M.A.
R. A. Roberts.
C. H. Firth, LL.D., Litt.D., *President.*
Hubert Hall, F.S.A., *Director.*
H. R. Tedder, F.S.A., *Treasurer.*
H. E. Malden, M.A., *Hon. Sec.*

LIST OF FELLOWS

OF THE

ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Names of Officers and Members of Council are printed in SMALL CAPITALS.
*Those marked * have compounded for their Annual Subscriptions.*

Abbott, Rev. H. A., M.A., Eggars Grammar School, Alton, Hants.
Abram, Miss, D.Sc., 11 Christchurch Road, Hampstead, N.W.
* Ackers, B. St. John, Huntley Manor, Gloucester.
Aiya, V. Nagam, B.A., Tirumalai Lodge, Trivandrum, Travancore, S. India.
Aiyangar, S. K., Chamarajendrapet, Bangalore City, India.
* Amherst, The Right Hon. Earl, Montreal, Sevenoaks, Kent.
Anderson, John H., 5 Lexham Gardens, S.W.
Anderson, R. C., M.A., Bassett Wood, near Southampton.
Anscombe, A., 30 Albany Road, Stroud Green, N.
Armstrong, Edward, M.A., Queen's College, Oxford.
Arundale, G. S., M.A., LL.B., Central Hindu College, Benares, India.
* Ashcombe, Lord, 123 St. George's Square, Pimlico, S.W.
Astley, Rev. H. J. Dukinfield, M.A., Litt.D., F.R.S.L., East Rudham Vicarage, King's Lynn.
Atkinson, C. T., M.A., Exeter College, Oxford.
* Auden, Miss Henrietta M., Alderdene, Church Stretton, Salop.
Auden, Rev. J. E., M.A., Church Broughton Vicarage, Derby.

Baer, S. L., Hochstrasse 6, Frankfort-on-Main.
* Baguley, Henry, 6 Park Road, Wandsworth, S.W.
Bagwell, R., J.P., D.L., Marlfield, Clonmel.
Baker, A. E., Public Library, Taunton.
Baker, James, Sewelle Villa, Clifton, Bristol.
Bales, P. G., B.A., The Grammar School, Doncaster.
Banks, Mrs. M. M., 7 Wadham Gardens, N.W.
Barker, E., M.A., 7 Linton Road, Oxford.
* Barrett, T. Squire, M.A.I., F.Z.S., F.S.S., F.R.B.S., 58 Millfield Road, Appleton-in-Widnes.
Baskerville, G., M.A., Keble College, Oxford.
Bavanandam, S., Saravana Villas, Tannah Road, Vepery, Madras.
Baxter, Wynne E., F.R.G.S., 170 Church Street, Stoke Newington.
Bayley, A. R., B.A., St. Margaret's, Imperial Road, Great Malvern.
Beatty, H. M., M.A., LL.D., 32 Elers Road, West Ealing, W.
Beaven, Rev. A. B., M.A., Greyfriars, Leamington.
BEAZLEY, CHARLES RAYMOND, D.Litt., F.R.G.S., The University, Edmund Street, Birmingham.
Belcher, Rev. Dr., M.A., LL.D., St. Michael's Rectory, Lewes, Sussex.
Bellamy, C. H., 7 Rue de l'Epidème, Tourcoing (Nord), France.
Benson, Arthur Christopher, M.A., Magdalene College, Cambridge.
Bethell, G., 11 Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, W.
Bickmore, H. C., M.A., 44 Edwardes Square, Kensington, W.
Blake, A. H., M.A., Authors' Club, 2 Whitehall Court, S.W.
Bolam, Rev. C. E., St. Mary Magdalene's Rectory, Lincoln.

Boyd, W. K., 24 Bisham Gardens, Highgate, N.
Boynton, Thomas, Norman House, Bridlington Quay, Yorks.
* Brackenridge, George Washington, San Antonio, Texas, U.S.A.
Bright, Rev. James Franck, D.D., Hollow Hill, Ditchingham, Norfolk.
Brisco, A. N., Ph.D., The College of the City of New York, New York, U.S.A.
Briscoe, John Potter, F.R.S.L., Public Libraries, Nottingham.
Bristol, Right Rev. Bishop of, 2 Campden House Road, Kensington, W.
* Brocklehurst, Septimus, F.R.G.S., Olinda, Aigburth Drive, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
Brooke, Z. N., M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
Brough, William S., Fowlchurch, Leek, Staffordshire.
Brown, A. E., B.A., LL.B., 59 Victoria Road, New Chesterton, Cambridge.
Brown, Mrs. Burton, Prior's Field, Godalming.
Brown, H. G., 4 Blandford Gardens, Leeds.
Browne, Harold C. G., 15 Kingsgate Street, Winchester.
Browning, Oscar, M.A., 31 Dorset Road, Bexhill-on-Sea.
Bryce, The Right Hon. Viscount, Hindleap, Forest Road, Sussex.
Buick, T. L., J.P., c/o Parliament Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
Burd, L. A., M.A., Repton School, near Burton-on-Trent.
Burghclere, The Lady, 48 Charles Street, W.
Burton, Rev. E. H., D.D., St. Edmund's College, Old Hall, Ware.
* Busher, Rev. T. Story, M.A., F.C.S., Walton Vicarage, Berkswich, Stafford.
Butler, G. G., M.A., Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
* Butt, Arthur N., London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E.C.

Cape, H. J., M.A., Mathematical School, Rochester.
* Carington, H. H. Smith, Grangethorpe, Rusholme.
Carlyle, Rev. A. J., University College, Oxford.
* Carlyle, E. I., M.A., Lincoln College, Oxford.
Cater, W. A., F.S.A., Osnabrück, Harringay Park, Crouch End, N.
Cecil, Algernon, M.A., 111 Eaton Square, S.W.
Chadwyck-Healey, Sir C. E. H., K.C.B., 3 Harcourt House, Cavendish Square, W.
Chadwyck-Healey, G. E., M.A., 66 Warwick Square, S.W.
* Chance, James Frederick, M.A., 30 Lennox Gardens, S.W.
* Chancellor, E. Beresford, M.A., The Gladdy House, Wargrave, Berks.
Chapin, H. M., B.A., Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.
Charleston, S. J., M.A., 9 Ofreslottsgatan, Upsala, Sweden.
Charteris, The Hon. Evan, 23 St. James's Place, S.W.
Cheney, A. D., F.S.A., Lympne, Hythe, Kent.
Childs, Horatio, St. Martin's Northern Schools, Castle Street, Long Acre, W.C.
Church, George Earl, F.R.G.S., 216 Cromwell Road, S. Kensington.
Church, Rev. L. F., Avalon, 8 Lassa Road, Eltham Park, S.E.
Clapham, J. H., M.A., King's College, Cambridge.
Cobb, Cyril Stephen, B.C.L., M.A., F.R.G.S., 5 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
Cockle, M. J. D., Ranworth Hall, Norwich.
Collinson, F. J., Authors' Club, 2 Whitehall Court, S.W.
Colwell, Rev. James, Bowral, New South Wales.
* Corbett, William J., M.A., King's College, Cambridge.
Cotterell, H. H., F.R.S.A., Myvod, Foden Road, Walsall, Staffs.
Courtauld, George, Cut Hedge, near Halstead, Essex.
Cozens-Smith, E., F.S.S., 16 Kensington Square, W.
Crake, Rev. Edward E., Jevington Rectory, Polegate, Sussex.
Cronin, Rev. H. S., M.A., Willowbrook, Chaucer Road, Cambridge.
Crowe, F. J. W., F.R.A.S., St. Peter's House, Chichester.
Cullen, P. L., B.A., St. Mungo's Academy, Townhead, Glasgow.

* CUNNINGHAM, The Ven. Archdeacon, D.D., LL.D., Trinity College, Cambridge.
CURZON, The Right Hon. Earl, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Hackwood, Basingstoke.
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